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AN ELEMENTARY MIDDLE ENGLISH GRAMMAR

AN ELEMENTARY MIDDLE ENGLISH GRAMMAR

BY

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To the Revered Memory

of

DR. HENRY BRADLEY

and

DR. SIR JAMES MURRAY

who devoted their long and strenuous
lives to promoting the study of English
word-lore this Middle English Grammar
is respectfully dedicated

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

The need of an elementary Middle English Grammar written on scientific and historical principles must long have been felt by pupils and teachers alike, and it is with a view of supplying this need that the present Grammar has been written. In writing it we have followed as far as possible the plan adopted in the *Elementary Old English Grammar*, our object being to furnish students with a concise account of the phonology and inflexions of the Middle English period. And in order that the book may form a kind of basis for the modern English period, we have in almost all cases chosen the examples illustrating the Middle English sound-changes from words which have survived in Modern-English. It will thus link up with a similar book dealing with the phonology and inflexions of New English, which is already in an advanced stage of preparation, and which will be published next year.

In dealing with the Middle English dialects, we have, as far as is possible in an elementary Grammar, endeavoured to exhibit the phonological and inflexional features of each group of dialects without attaching too great importance to any one of them. In this part of the work we have made considerable use of the modern dialects, as they help to throw much light upon many points of Middle English phonology.

As the book is not intended for specialists in English philology, some more or less important details have

been intentionally omitted. All or most of them will doubtless be found in Morsbach's *Mittelenglische Grammatik*, Halle, 1896, and Luick's *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, Leipzig, 1914–21, if these two comprehensive grammars are ever completed, as well as some of them in *Chaucers Sprache und Verskunst* by B. ten Brink, third edition, edited by E. Eckhardt, Leipzig, 1920. We gratefully acknowledge our indebtedness to the above-mentioned works, and to Björkman's *Scandinavian Loan-words in Middle English*, Halle, 1900–2.

We are convinced that the student who conscientiously works through this book will find that he has gained a thorough general knowledge of Middle English sound-laws and inflexions, and has thereby, not only laid a solid foundation for further study of historical English grammar, but also for a fuller and more appreciative study of mediaeval English Literature.

In conclusion, we wish to express our sincere thanks to the Controller of the University Press for his great kindness in complying with our wishes in regard to special type, and to the Press reader for his valuable help with the reading of the proofs.

JOSEPH WRIGHT.
ELIZABETH MARY WRIGHT.

OXFORD,
October, 1923.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The rapidity with which a large first edition of this Grammar has been exhausted would seem to indicate that there was a real need for such a book among beginners of the subject at our universities.

In preparing this new Edition for press we have adhered strictly to our original plan, viz. that of furnishing students with a concise account of the phonology and inflexions of the Middle English period. From our long experience as teachers of the subject, we are convinced that this is the only satisfactory method. To have overburdened the book with a large number of details would only confuse the student and render him unable 'to see the wood for the trees'. Although we have preserved the original number of paragraphs, many of these have been enlarged, and others have been entirely re-written, especially in the phonology of the vowels of accented syllables and in the chapter on verbs.

In conclusion, we beg to express our heartiest thanks to the reviewers of the first edition for their useful suggestions, especially to Professor E. Ekwall in *Beiblatt zur Anglia*, vol. xxxv, pp. 226–8, Professor F. Holthausen in *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, Jahrgang xlv, Nr. 10–12 (cols. 302–5), Professor E. Kruisinga in *English Studies*, vol. vi, pp. 162–3, and Professor F. Wild in *Englische Studien*, vol. lix, pp. 96–9. And lastly, we gratefully acknowledge our indebtedness

to the *Handbuch der mittelenglischen Grammatik*, Erster Teil: Lautlehre (Heidelberg, 1925), by our old friend the late Professor Richard Gordon, through whose untimely death the study of English Philology has suffered a great loss.

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OXFORD,
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ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.

AN.	= Anglo-Norman
Angl.	= Anglian
C.Fr.	= Central French
dial.	= dialect
ED.Gr.	= English Dialect Grammar
EM.	= East Midland
ENE.Gr.	= Elementary Historical New English Grammar
EOE.Gr.	= Elementary Old English Grammar
Fr.	= French
Goth.	= Gothic
Ken.	= Kentish
Lat.	= Latin
M. or m.	= Midland
ME.	= Middle English
MHG.	= Middle High German
Mod.	= Modern
N. or n.	= Northern
NE.	= New English
N. E. D.	= New English Dictionary.
NHG.	= New High German
Nth.	= Northumbrian
NW.	= north-west(ern
OE.	= Old English
O.Fr.	= Old French
O.Icel.	= Old Icelandic
ON.	= Old Norse
S. or s.	= Southern
Sc.	= Scottish
W. or w.	= West
WM.	= West Midland
WS.	= West Saxon

ƀ	= **v** in **vine, five**
ð	= **th** in **then**
ȝ	= **g** often heard in German **sagen**
ŋ	= **n** in **finger, think**
ž	= **s** in **measure**
dž	= **j** in **just**
š	= **sh** in **ship**
tš	= **ch** in **chin**
χ	= **ch** in German **nacht, nicht**

The sign ¯ placed over vowels is used to mark long vowels. The sign ˛ placed under vowels is used to denote open vowels, as ę̄, ǭ, e̯i, o̯i. The sign . placed under vowels is used to denote close vowels, as ẹ̄, ọ̄, e̯i, e̯u, o̯u. Simple e̯ in unaccented syllables denotes that the vowel was not pronounced, as **come̯, heveȝnes, live̯de.** The asterisk * prefixed to a word denotes a theoretical form, as **cladd** from older ***clādd**, *clothed*.

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Middle English embraces that period of the English language which extends from about 1100 to 1500. The division of a language into fixed periods must of necessity be more or less arbitrary. What are given as the characteristics of one period have generally had their beginnings in the previous period, and it is impossible to say with perfect accuracy when one period begins and another ends. In fact many of the vowel-changes which are generally described as having taken place in early ME. did in reality take place in late OE., although early ME. writers often continued to use the traditional OE. spelling long after the sound-changes had taken place; this applies especially to ǽ, y̆, ĕa, ĕo. And just as it is impossible to fix the precise date at which one period of a language ends and another begins, so also it is not possible to do more than to fix approximately the date at which any particular sound-change took place, because in most languages, and more especially in English, the change in orthography has not kept pace with the change in sound.

§ 2. For practical purposes Middle English may be conveniently divided into three sub-periods:—(*a*) Early ME. extending from about 1100 to 1250. (*b*) Ordinary ME. extending from about 1250 to 1400. And (*c*) late ME. extending from about 1400 to 1500.

(*a*) Early ME. 1100–1250. The chief characteristics of this sub-period are:—The preservation in a great measure of the traditional OE. system of orthography, and the beginnings of the influence of Anglo-Norman orthography. The change of æ to a (§ 43), ā to ǭ in the dialects south of the Humber (§ 51), the lengthening of a, e, o in open syllables of dissyllabic words (§ 77), the formation of a large

number of new diphthongs of the **-i** and **-u** type (§§ 104, 105), the weakening of unaccented **a, o, u** to **e** (§ 134), the preservation for the most part of unaccented final **-e** (§ 139). The breaking up of the OE. inflexional system, especially that of the declensions of nouns, adjectives, and pronouns. The preservation of greater remnants of the OE. declensions of nouns, adjectives, and pronouns in the South than in the North and the Midlands. Grammatical gender was almost entirely lost in nouns (§ 314). Few Anglo-Norman loan-words found their way into the dialects of the South, still fewer into those of the Midlands, and hardly any at all into those of the north Midlands, and of the North.

(*b*) Ordinary ME. 1250–1400. The chief characteristics of this sub-period are:—The gradual formation of extensive literary dialect centres; and in the fourteenth century, especially in the second half, the beginnings of a standard ME. which, excluding Scotland, became fully developed in the fifteenth century. The great influence of Anglo-Norman orthography upon the written language (§§ 7–21). Unaccented final **-e** had practically ceased to be pronounced in all the dialects. The limitation of the inflexion of nouns and adjectives chiefly to one main type in the North and the Midlands, and in the South to two main types—the strong with the inflexions of the old **a**-declension, and the weak. The introduction of a large number of Anglo-Norman words into all the dialects, even into those of the North.

(*c*) Late ME. 1400–1500. In this sub-period we can observe the gradual disappearance of the local dialect element from the literature of the period through the spread and influence of the London literary language. The close approximation of the system of inflexions to that of New English. The gradual cleavage between the Scottish and the northern dialects of England.

§ 3. In the present state of our knowledge it is not possible

to give more than a rough-and-ready classification of the ME. dialects, because we are unable to fix the exact boundaries where one dialect ends and another begins. Nor shall we ever be able to remedy this defect until we possess a comprehensive atlas of the modern dialects such as has been produced by France and Germany of their dialects. An atlas of this kind would enable English scholars to fix the dialect boundaries far more accurately than is possible at present, and to show conclusively that there was no such thing as a uniform northern, north Midland, east Midland, west Midland, or south Midland dialect in the ME. period, but that within each principal division there were many sub-dialects each possessing clearly defined phonological peculiarities.

§ 4. ME. is usually divided into three large groups of dialects:—

1. The Northern Group, including the dialects of the Lowlands of Scotland, Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Westmorland, the whole of Yorkshire except the south, and north Lancashire. Roughly speaking, the Humber and the Ouse formed the southern boundary, while the Pennine Chain determined its limits to the West.

2. The Midland Group, including the dialects of south Yorkshire, the whole of Lancashire except the north, the counties to the west of the Pennine Chain, the East Anglian counties, and the whole of the Midland area. It corresponded roughly to the Old Mercian and East Anglian areas. The Thames formed the southern boundary of this extensive group of dialects. This group is generally further subdivided into the north Midland, east Midland, west Midland, and south Midland dialects.

3. The Southern Group, including the dialects of the counties south of the Thames, Gloucestershire, and parts of Herefordshire and Worcestershire. This group is often further subdivided into the south Eastern dialects, also

sometimes called Kentish or the Kentish group of dialects, and the south Western dialects.

§ 5. So far as is possible in an elementary grammar we have endeavoured to exhibit the phonological and morphological features of each of the various groups of dialects without attaching too great importance to any one of them. And with this end in view considerable use has been made of the modern dialects, as they undoubtedly help to throw light upon many debatable points of ME. phonology which can never be satisfactorily settled in any other manner.

PHONOLOGY

CHAPTER I

ORTHOGRAPHY AND PRONUNCIATION

1. ORTHOGRAPHY

§ 6. The following brief sketch of ME. orthography is merely intended to draw the student's attention to the subject in a connected manner. To enter into it here with any degree of completeness would necessitate the repetition of much that properly belongs to other chapters. Long vowels were, of course, not marked as such in ME. manuscripts, but in order to avoid confusion they are here generally marked long.

§ 7. The ordinary ME. orthography is based partly on the traditional OE. orthography and partly on the Anglo-Norman (AN.). OE. æ̆, ĕa, and ĕo continued to be written in early ME. long after they had changed in sound. æ had become a over a large area of the country in the early part of the twelfth century (cp. § 43), but it often continued to be written æ and by AN. scribes e until well on into the second half of the thirteenth century. ea became æ in Late OE., but the ea often continued to be written until a much later date. And then the æ had the same further fate as the ordinary OE. æ above. The old traditional spelling with ǣ was preserved in the *Ormulum* (*c.* 1200), *Lazamon* (*c.* 1205), and the Proclamation of London (1258), but in other monuments it, as also ǣ from older ēa, was generally written ę̄ from about the end of the twelfth century. ēa had also become ǣ, except in Kentish, by about the beginning of the eleventh century, although the ēa often continued to be written until a much later period. This change of ǣ to ę̄

was merely a letter change due to the influence of AN. orthography ; the æ-sound itself remained in ME. until near the end of the fifteenth century when it became ę̄, see § 52, 2. Through ǣ and ēa falling together in sound in late OE. the ēa was sometimes written for old ǣ in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and also occasionally much later. At a still later period this writing of ēa for ǣ became the general way of expressing long open ę̄ of whatever origin, cp. NE. **leap, deal, eat,** ME. lę̄pen, dę̄len, ę̄ten, OE. **hlēapan, dǣlan, etan.** The old traditional spelling with **eo, ēo** was often preserved in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, although the **eo, ēo** had become **e, ę̄** in sound in the northern and east Midland dialects, and **ö, ō̈** in the west Midland and southern dialects (except Kentish) in the twelfth century. And then through the influence of AN. orthography the **ö, ō̈** sounds came to be written **o, ue, oe** and sometimes **u,** see §§ **65, 198** ; and conversely **eo** occasionally came to be written for old **e** (§ **44**) in those dialects where **eo** became **e** in early ME. The writing of **e** for ǣ (= OE. **ǣ, ēa**) and of **e** for ę̄ (= OE. **ē, ēo**) led to confusion in ME. orthography owing to long open ę̄ and long close ę̄ being written alike, cp. **leden, ded** = OE. **lǣdan** *to lead,* **dēad** *dead* beside **fet, crepen** = OE. **fēt** *feet,* **crēopan** *to creep.*

§ **8.** Long and short y̆ (= ŭ̈) became unrounded to ĭ over a large part of the country during the OE. period. The result was that monuments written in these extensive areas during the ME. period have both **i** and **y** to represent old long and short ĭ. In the late ME. period an attempt was made by some writers to restrict the use of **y** to express old long ī.

§ **9.** Many of the changes which the OE. vowel-system underwent in ME. were not due to sound-changes, but were merely orthographical changes introduced by Anglo-Norman scribes. Examples of such changes are:—In those areas where the OE. short **y** (= ü) remained in the ME. period it came to be written **u** (like the **u** in Fr. **lune**), and the long

ȳ (= ū) came to be written **u, ui (uy)** from about 1170 onwards (§§ 49, 57). After the writing of **u** for **y**, and the **u, ui (uy)** for ȳ had become general in those districts where the long and short ŭ̄-sound had remained, the **y** began to be written for ĭ̄, especially before and after nasals, **u** (= v), **w**, and finally. This writing of **y** for ĭ̄ gradually became very common, and by the time of Chaucer it was also used in other positions as well. From about the middle of the thirteenth century **o** came to be written for **u** before and after nasals, **u** (= v), and **w**. This writing of **o** for **u** in these positions became pretty general towards the end of the thirteenth century. The object of using **y, o** for **i, u** in the above positions was primarily to avoid graphical confusion. In late ME. **o** was also generally written for **u** when followed by a single consonant + vowel. **v** was often written for **u** initially, and **u** for **v** medially between vowels. The writing of **ou (ow)** for ū became fairly common in the second half of the thirteenth century, and in the fourteenth century it became general. By the time of Chaucer it was generally written **ow** when final and frequently also in open syllables, especially before **l, n,** and **v,** but in other positions it was mostly written **ou.** **e** came to be written for **æ** (later **a**), ǣ (see above) in early ME., and through the influence of Central O.Fr. orthography **ie** was sometimes written for ę̄ in later ME., especially after the sound ę̄ had become ī or was on the way to become ī, see §§ 50, 197, 2, and *ENE. Gr.* § 31.

§ 10. In later ME. **ea** was occasionally used for ę̄, **oa (ao)** for ǭ, and **ou** for ǭ in the fourteenth century before the ǭ had become ū (cp. § 50); the diphthongs **ai, ei, oi, au, eu, ou** were often written **ay, ey, oy, aw, ew, ow** finally and before **n**; and **ai (ay), ei (ey), ōi (oy)** were written for ā, ē, ō in the northern dialects, see § 121.

§ 11. During the ME. period some attempt was made to distinguish between long and short vowels in writing, but

only Orm made a systematic attempt to indicate long vowels by writing double consonants after short vowels. His system, however, broke down when a short vowel was in an open syllable. In this position he sometimes put a mark over the vowel, thus **dăle** *valley*, to indicate that the vowel was short. Orm's system was cumbersome, but it was not more so than some of the other attempts which were made to indicate long vowels. From the fourteenth century onwards long **ē** and **ō** were often indicated by writing them double in closed syllables and when final, but single in open syllables, as **dęęd** *dead*, **dęęd** *deed*; but **dēlen** *to deal*, **mēten** *to meet*; **bǫǫt** *boat*, **fǫǫt** *foot*; but **grōpen** *to grope*, **brōþer** *brother*. **ā** was rarely written **aa** in closed syllables. The reason why **ā, ē, ō** were not written double in open syllables was doubtless due to the lengthening of early ME. **a, e, o** in open syllables in the first half of the thirteenth century (§ 78). These new long vowels were always followed by an **e** in the next syllable, and this **e** came to be regarded as the sign of a long vowel in the preceding syllable. And then later the **e** came to be used in words to which it did not etymologically belong for the purpose of indicating a preceding long vowel. Long and short **ŭ** came to be distinguished by writing the former **ou** (**ow**) and the latter **u** (**o**). By some later ME. writers an attempt was made to distinguish between long and short **ĭ** by writing the former **y** and the latter **i**. This mode of indicating **ī** was very common in Chaucer.

§ 12. In late ME. it became fairly common to double consonants after short stem-vowels in order to indicate that the preceding vowel was short, just as is the case in Modern German.

§ 13. The OE. consonant-system was very defective insomuch as each of the letters **c, f, g, h, n, s** and **þ** was used to represent two or more sounds, see *EOE. Gr.* § 7. The ambiguity in the use of these consonants was chiefly due to sound-changes which took place during the OE. period

without the corresponding changes in the orthography. Germanic **f**, **þ** and **s** became voiced in OE. between voiced sounds, and Germanic **ƀ**, **ȝ** became unvoiced when they came to stand finally, but no regular change took place in the orthography to indicate the change in pronunciation, see *EOE. Gr.* §§ 139, 172. Again Germanic **k**, **g** (which only occurred in the combination **ng**), **χ**, **ȝ** and **ng** became differentiated in OE. into gutturals and palatals, but the same letters were kept to indicate both kinds of sounds, see *EOE. Gr.* §§ 166, 168–70. Mainly through the influence of Anglo-Norman orthography many of the above ambiguities were got rid of in ME.

§ 14. **c** came to be used for the **k**-sound before guttural vowels and liquids, and **k** before palatal vowels and **n**, and from the beginning of the thirteenth century **ck** beside **kk** came to be used to express the double **k**-sound. The letter **c** was sometimes used for voiceless **s** initially before palatal vowels, and in AN. words both initially and medially, as **citee**, **receiven**. **c** was also sometimes used to express **ts**, as **blecen**, OE. **bletsian** *to bless*, **milce**, OE. **milts** *mercy*. The OE. combination **cw** was written **qu**. From about 1150 onwards it became common to write **ch** for the assibilated OE. palatal **c** (= **tš**), and **cch** (**chch**) when it was doubled.

§ 15. **v** was written initially in those ME. dialects where **f** had become voiced in this position. **u** later **v** came to be written medially for OE. voiced **f**, and **v** was often written for **u** initially.

§ 16. In OE. the explosive **g** and the spirant **ȝ** were written alike, but in ME. **g** came to be used exclusively for the explosive, and **ȝ** for the spirant, as **gōd**, **glad**, beside **ȝard**, **ȝernen**, early ME. **bǫȝe** = OE. **boga** *bow*. For initial **ȝ-** the letters **y-** and **i-** were also used, as **yaf**, **iaf** = **ȝaf**, OE. **geaf** *he gave*. At the end of words **ȝ** was sometimes used for **z** (= **ts**), and in late ME. for voiced **s**, through confusion

with **z**, and conversely **z** for **ȝ**. Some scribes also used **g** for **ȝ** initially. The assibilated OE. palatal **cg** (= dž) came to be written **gg**, but this was not an improvement, because OE. did generally distinguish in writing between the guttural and palatal explosive **gg** by writing the former **gg** and the latter **cg**, as in **dogga** *dog*, beside **licgan** *to lie down*. In Fr. words dž was written **j** (also sometimes **i**) initially and **g** (**gg**) medially, as **juge, chargen, plegge**.

§ 17. In order to distinguish between the pronunciation of the aspirate **h** and the spirant **h** = χ, the **h** gradually became used for the aspirate only, and the spirant was represented by **ȝ** (also sometimes by **c, g**), later **gh** (also **ch**, especially in the Scottish dialects). This rule had become fully established by the time of Chaucer, who usually has **gh**. And as French scribes did not have the combination **ȝt** (**ht**) in their own language they sometimes substituted **st** for it, as pret. **miste** for **miȝte** *might*. OE. **hw** came to be written **qu, qv, quh, qw, qwh** in the northern dialects, especially the Scottish, and generally **wh** in the other dialects.

§ 18. **s** was generally written for both the voiced and the voiceless **s**, but **z** was occasionally used for the former, especially in late ME. **sc** was sometimes written for **ss**, as **blisced** *blessed*, and **z** for **ts**, as **milze**, OE. **milts** *mercy*.

§ 19. The š-sound from OE. **sc** was generally written **sch** in early ME., and later also **ssh, sh**, and in Ken. **ss**, as **ssrīve, vless**. Double šš was written **schs, ssh**, and also **shs** (§ 289).

§ 20. OE. **þ, ð** continued to be written side by side until well on into the thirteenth century, and then the latter went out of use. In the fourteenth century **th** gradually came to be used beside **þ**, but the **þ** often continued to be written beside **th**, especially initially, throughout the ME. period. In the best manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* **th** is generally used. In the early fourteenth century **þ** and

y had become so closely alike in form that in some manuscripts (e.g. the Cotton MS. of the *Cursor Mundi*, *c.* 1340) they were indistinguishable, and in others a dot was sometimes placed over the y in order to distinguish it from the þ. After 1400 þ fell more and more out of use, and in some manuscripts was represented only by the y-form in demonstrative and pronominal words, as y^e, y^t, y^m, y^u = *the, that, them, thou*. Two of these, y^e and y^t, were retained in printers' types during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and y^e is still often used pseudo-archaically in shop-signs like Y^e Olde Booke Shoppe. See *N.E.D.* sub y.

§ 21. The OE. rune ᚹ (= w) continued to be used occasionally until the end of the thirteenth century, but the ordinary way of writing u-consonant was uu (also vv in early ME.) and w.

2. PRONUNCIATION

A. The Vowels.

§ 22. ME. had the following simple vowels and diphthongs :—

Short Vowels	a, e, i, o, u, ö, ü
Long ,,	ā, ę̄, ę, ī, ǭ, ǫ, ū, ō, ǖ
Diphthongs	ai, ęi, ęi, ǫi, ui, au, ęu, ęu, iu, ǫu, ǫu

Note.—With the exception of ę̄ and ǭ the short and long vowels had the same sound-values as in OE. where ă̆, y̆ = ME. ŏ, ŭ. ę̄ is used in ME. to represent two slightly different sounds, viz. a low-front-narrow vowel like OE. ǣ, and a mid-front-wide vowel which arose in ME. by the lengthening of OE. e in open syllables, see §§ 52, 78. The sound represented by ǭ did not exist in OE. For the Kentish rising diphthongs which arose from OE. ēo, ēa, see §§ 64, 67.

§ 23. The approximate pronunciation of the above vowels and diphthongs was as follows :—

a like the a in OE. assa and NHG. gast, as asse, bladder, chapman, passen.

e like the e in NE. met, as bed, fellen, gest, helpen, slepte.

i like the i in NE. bit, as bidden, children, niȝt *night*, sitten.

o like the o in NHG. Gott and nearly like the o in NE. dog, as dogge, gosling, hors, norþ.

u like the u in NE. full, as dust, ful, sunne (sonne) *sun*, wulf (wolf), see § 48.

ö (gen. written o, ue, and sometimes u) like the ö in NHG. götter, as chorl (churl), horte (huerte, hurte) *heart*, storre *star*, orþe (urþe) *earth*, see § 60.

ü (gen. written u) like the ü in NHG. füllen, as brugge *bridge*, duppen *to dip*, kussen *to kiss*, sunne *sin*, see § 49.

ā like the a in NE. father, as āle, bāken, nāme, rāven.

ę̄ like the ai in NE. air, as lę̄den (OE. lǣdan) *to lead*, lę̄pen (OE. hlēapan) *to leap*; ę̄ten (OE. etan) *to eat*, mę̄te (OE. mete) *meat*, see §§ 52, 78.

ę̄ like the e in NHG. reh, as dę̄d *deed*, dę̄p, hę̄re, fę̄t, snēsen.

ī like the i in NE. machine, as bīten, fīnden, līf, tīde.

ǭ like the a in NE. all, as bǭte (OE. bāt) *boat*, cǭld (OE. ceald) *cold*; cǭle (OE. col) *coal*, þrǭte (OE. þrote) *throat*, see § 51, note.

ō like the o in NHG. bote and the eau in Fr. beau, as brōþer, fōt, lōken, sōne.

ū (gen. written ou, ow), like the ou in Fr. sou, and nearly like the oo in NE. food, as doun, hous, hou (how), pound.

ō̄ (gen. written o, ue, eo, and sometimes u) like the ö in NHG. schön, as cheose(n) chuse(n) *to choose*, duep (dup) *deep*, lof (luef, luf) *dear*, see § 65.

ū̄ (gen. written u, ui, uy) like the ü in NHG. grün, as fur (fuir) *fire*, huden (huiden) *to hide*, mus (muis) *mice*, see § 57.

ai nearly like the ai in NE. aisle, as dai (day), hail, maiden, saide *he said*.

Early ME. ęi nearly like the ay in NE. day, as clęi, gręi, lęide *he laid*, plęien *to play*, węi, see § 107.

Early ME. ęi with ę like the é in Fr. été, as dęien *to die*, ęie *eye*, flęien *to fly*, see § 107, 6.

ǫi like the oy in NE. boy, as bǫi (bǫy), chǫis, jǫie, vǫis.

au nearly like the ou in NE. out, as drawen, fauȝt *he fought*, sauȝ *he saw*, tauȝte *he taught*.

ęu like the n. dial. pronunciation of the ew in few, as dęu (dęw), fęwe, hęwen, schęwen.

Early ME. ęu with ę like the é in Fr. été, as hęwe *hue*, knęu (knęw), nęwe, pret. þręu (þręw), see § 112.

Early ME. iu (later written ew) nearly like the ew in NE. few, as sniwen *to snow*, spiwen, triwe *true*.

ǫu with ǫ like the o in NE. not, as bǫwe (OE. boga) *bow*, pp. fǫuȝten, knǫwen, sǫule, þǫuȝte.

Early ME. ǫu nearly like the o in NE. no, as bǫwes *branches*, pl. inǫwe *enough*, plǫwes *ploughs*, see § 114, 2.

ui (= the u in NE. put + i) generally written oi, as enointen *to anoint*, point *point*, see § 207.

B. The Consonants.

§ 24. The ME. consonant-system was represented by the following letters:—b, c, d, f, g, ȝ, h, j, k, l, m, n, p, q, r, s, t, þ, v (u), w, x, y, z.

Of the above letters b, d, f, j, k, l, m, n, p, q, r, s, t, v (u), w, x, y had the same sound-values as in Modern English. The remaining letters require special attention, see §§ 13–20.

c had a threefold pronunciation: 1. Before guttural (back) vowels and liquids it had the k-sound, as cat, cǭld, cuppe; clęne, craft. 2. Initially and medially before palatal vowels it had the sound of voiceless s in Fr. words, as citee, deceiven. 3. It was occ. used to represent the combination ts (= O.Fr. ts from Latin ce, ci, which later became s in sound), as blecen = OE. bletsian *to bless*, milce = OE. miltsa

mercy. The simple affricata was written **ch**, and when doubled **cch** (**chch**), as **chīld, kichene; crucche, wrecche.**

g had a twofold pronunciation: 1. Initially it was a voiced explosive (stop), as **gāte, glad, gnat, gǭd, grēne.** 2. Medially before vowels it had the sound **dž** (= the affricata **j** and **dg** in NE. **judge**) in Fr. words, as **chargen, jugen.** The combination **ng** had the sound **ŋg** beside **ndž** according as it represented OE. guttural or palatal **ng**, as **long, singen, þing**, beside **crengen** (**cringen**), **ṡengen** (**singen**); and similarly with double **gg** (= OE. guttural **gg** and palatal **cg**), as **dogge, frogge, stagge**, beside **brigge, cuggele, seggen** *to say*, and also in Fr. words, as **plegge** *pledge*.

ȝ had a threefold pronunciation: 1. Initially like NE. **y** in **ye**, as **ȝard, ȝernen, ȝong.** 2. In early ME. a voiced guttural or palatal spirant like the **g** often heard in NE. **sagen** beside **siegen**, as **bǫȝe** later **bǫwe** *bow*, **draȝen** later **drawen**, beside **flēȝen** later **fleien** *to fly*. 3. Finally and before **t** it was a voiceless guttural or palatal spirant like the **ch** in NHG. **noch** beside **ich**, as **burȝ** (**burgh**), **dǫuȝ** (**dǫugh**), **dǫuȝter** (**dǫughter**), beside **hēȝ** (**hēh**) *high*, **fiȝten** (**fighten**).

Initial **h** (except in the combination **hw-** = χw-) was an aspirate like the **h** in NE. **hand**, as **hand, hous.** In other positions it was a voiceless spirant like the **ȝ** in 3 above, which came to be written for it in early ME.

sch from OE. **sc** (gen. written **sch** in early ME., and later also **ssh, sh**, and in Ken. **ss**) was like the **sh** in NE. **ship**, as **schaft, waschen, fisch; ssrīve** *to shrive*, **vless** *flesh*.

þ (**th**) was used to express both the voiceless and voiced sounds like the **th** in NE. **thin, cloth; father, then**, as **baþ, þing; brōþer**, Ken. **þet** *that*.

z had the **ts** sound in early ME., as **milze** = OE. **milts** *mercy*; in later ME. it was also used for voiced **s**, especially in the *Ayenbite*, as **zelver** *silver*, **þouzond.**

Stress (Accent).

§ 25. The accentuation in native ME. words was essentially the same as in OE., that is, in all uncompounded words the chief accent fell upon the stem-syllable and always remained there even when suffixes and inflexional endings followed it. In compound words the chief accent fell upon the stem-syllable of the first component part if the second part was a noun or an adjective; and on the stem-syllable of the second part if this was a verb or derived from a verb.

CHAPTER II

THE OE. VOWEL-SYSTEM

§ 26. OE. had the following vowel-system :—

Short vowels **a, æ, e, i, o, u, y**
Long ,, **ā, ǣ, ē, ī, ō, ū, ȳ**
Short diphthongs **ea, eo, ie, io**
Long ,, **ēa, ēo, īe, īo**

In the next chapter we shall trace the ME. development of the above simple vowels and diphthongs of accented syllables. And in doing so we shall first deal with the independent and then with the dependent changes which they underwent in ME. By independent changes we mean those which took place independently of neighbouring sounds, and by dependent changes those which depended upon or were due to the influence of neighbouring sounds. But before entering upon the subject it will be useful to state here certain dependent changes which took place during the OE. period, as some of them are of special importance for ME.

§ 27. The diphthongs **ĕa, ĕo, ĭo** became monophthongs during the OE. period before **c, g, h, hs, ht**; before a liquid

+ c, g, h; and after the initial palatals c-, g-, and sc-. And then the resultant long or short vowels had the same further development in ME. as the corresponding older long or short vowels. See *EOE. Gr.* § 67 and notes.

§ 28. Before h and h + consonant ea became æ (= ME. a, §§ 43, 59) in Anglian, but e in late WS. and also in the eleventh century in Kentish, as sæh *he saw*, fæx *hair*, flæx *flax*, wæxan *to grow*, æhta *eight*, fæht *he fought*, hlæhtor *laughter*, mæht *might*, næht *night*, beside seh, fex, flex, wexan, ehta, feht, hlehtor, meht, neht. A few of these latter forms occur in Chaucer, as flex, wex, wexe(n) beside waxe(n). See §§ 107, 110.

§ 29. After initial palatal c-, g-, sc- ea generally became æ in Anglian (= ME. a), but e in late WS., whence a beside e in ME., as chaf (OE. ceaf) *chaff*, ȝaf *he gave*, ȝat *gate*, schal *shall*, beside chef, ȝef, ȝet, schel.

§ 30. Before ht eo became i in later WS. (rarely y), Ken. and the south Midlands when not followed by a guttural vowel in the next syllable, but became e in the north Midlands and the North (cp. *EOE. Gr.* § 67 and notes 1, 4), whence we have in early ME. riht beside reht (mod. n. dialects reit) *right*, but fehten (OE. feohtan) in all the early ME. dialects. The common form fiȝten was a ME. new formation.

§ 31. io became i in Anglian before c, h + s or t, and before a liquid + c, as birce *birch-tree*, milc *milk*, mixen *dunghill*, gebirhta(n) *to make light*, rihta(n) *to set straight*, see § 62 and *EOE. Gr.* § 67, note 1.

§ 32. The OE. eo, io which occurred after initial palatal sc-, g- were probably never either rising or falling diphthongs. The e, i merely indicated the palatal nature of the preceding sc-, g- as is shown by the ME. forms, and in OE. itself sco- occurs beside sceo-, as schort (OE. scort beside sceort), and similarly ME. bischop, schot *missile*, &c.; ȝon (OE. geon) *yonder*, Orm ȝocc (OE. geoc) *yoke*. And in like

manner OE. has **scu-**, **iu-** (i = ȝ) beside **sceo-** (**scio-**), **geo-** (**gio-**), as **schulen** (OE. **sculon** beside **sceolon**, **sciolon**) *they shall*, **ȝung**, **ȝong** (OE. **iung** beside **geong**, **giong**) *young*.

§ 33. The OE. initial combinations **scă-**, **scŏ-** were also often written **sceă-**, **sceŏ-** with **e** merely to denote the palatal pronunciation of the **sc-**, as **sceacan** beside **scacan** (ME. **schāken**) *to shake*, **sceolde** beside **scolde** (ME. **schọ̄lde** beside the unstressed form **schŏlde**) *should*, **sceōp** beside **scōp** (ME. **schọ̄p**) *he created*.

§ 34. The **ēa** from older **ǣ** (= Anglian and Ken. **ē**) became **ē** after the initial palatals **c-**, **g-**, **sc-** in some of the late WS. dialects, which like Anglian and Ken. **ē** remained in ME. (§ 52), as **cēp** *cheap*, **cēs** *he chose*, **gēfon** *they gave*, **gēr** *year*, **gēt** *he poured out*, **scēp** *sheep*, **scēt** *he shot* = ME. **chẹ̄p** beside **chẹ̄p**, **ȝẹ̄r**, **schẹ̄p**, &c.

§ 35. Before **c**, **g**, **h** **ēa** became **ē** through the intermediate stage **ǣ** in late Anglian and WS., which remained in early ME., as **bēcen** (earlier **bēacen**) *beacon*, **ēc** *also*, **lēc** *leek*, **bēg** *ring*, **ēge** *eye*, **lēg** *he told lies*, **tēg** *rope*, **hēh** (older **hēah**) *high*, **tēh** *he drew*. For the further development of the **ē** before **g**, **h**, see § 107.

§ 36. In Anglian **ēo** became **ē** before **c**, **g**, **h**, and **h** + **s** or **t**, and then the **ē** remained in early ME. like the **ē** from **ēo** in other positions, see §§ 65, 107, as **rēca(n)** *to smoke*, **sēc** (older **sēoc**) *sick*, **flēga(n)** *to fly*, **flēge** *fly*, **þēh** *thigh*, **wēx** *he grew*, **lēht** which later became **līht**, **liht** *a light*.

§ 37. **īo** became **ī** in Anglian before palatal **c** and **ht**, as **cīcen**, older ***kioken** from ***kiukīn** *chicken*, **līhta(n)** = WS. **līehtan** *to give light*.

§ 38. **weo-**: The OE. initial combination **weo-**, of whatever origin, became **wu-** (rarely **wo-**) in late WS., and **wo-** in late Northumbrian, but remained in Mercian and Kentish (= ME. **we-**), and then the **-u-**, **-o-**, **-eo-** had the same further development in ME. as old **u** (§ 48), but generally written **o** in the combination **wur-**, **o** (§ 47), and **eo** (§ 60). These

three different developments were preserved in these areas in ME., as **wurld**, generally written **world**, and similarly **work, worpen** *to throw*, **worþ, worþen** *to become*; **world, work, worpen, worþ, worþen; werld, werk, werpen, werþ, werþen.** And we also have **suster** older **swuster** (OE. **sweostor**), **swurd**, generally written **sword**, beside **soster** older **swoster, sword, swerd.**

§ 39. **wio-**: OE. **io** in the combination **wio-** generally became **wu-** in late WS. and Anglian, but remained in Kentish (= ME. **e, i**). And before gutturals it became **i** in Anglian (*EOE. Gr.* § 63 and note 2). The **wu-**forms generally remained in ME. In ME. we accordingly have **wu-, wi-** and **we-**forms representing the different areas, as **bitwux, bitwix, bitwex** *between*, **cude** (**code**, **o** = **u**), **cwide, cwede** *cud*, **cwuc, cwic, cwec** *alive*, **wuke, wike** (§ 85), **weke** *week*, **wodewe** (**o** = **u**), **widewe** (**widwe**) *widow*, **wude** (**wode**) *wood*, see § 85.

CHAPTER III

THE ME. DEVELOPMENT OF THE OE. VOWEL-SYSTEM OF ACCENTED SYLLABLES

1. INDEPENDENT CHANGES

A. The Short Vowels.

§ 40. OE. **æ** became **a**, and **y** was unrounded to **i** during the ME. period in those areas where it had remained in OE. (§ 49), but the vowels **a, e, i, o, u** underwent no independent changes.

a

§ 41. OE. **a** in closed syllables = ME. **a**, as **asse** (OE. **assa**), **cat** (OE. **catte**), **sak** (OE. **sacc**), and similarly **asche, castel, crabbe, fals** *false*, **mattok, palme, stagge, waschen.**

basken (ON. **baðask**) *to bathe*, **casten** (ON. **kasta**), **flat** (ON. **flatr**), **happe** (ON. **happ**) *good luck*.

§ 42. Before nasals Germanic **a** became rounded in early OE. to a sound intermediate between the **o** in NE. **on** and the **a** in NHG. **mann**. In the oldest OE. it was nearly always written **a**, in the ninth century it was mostly written **o**, but in late OE. it became pure **a** again except in some parts of Mercia (west Midlands) where it became full **o**, and has remained as such in many of the dialects in this area down to the present day. Examples in closed syllables before a single or double nasal, and a nasal + a voiceless consonant are: **man, mon; þank, þonk**; and similarly **anker, bank, bigan, camp, can**, pret. **drank, hamme** *ham*, **plante, ram, ran, swam, swan**, pret. **wan, wanten. ransaken** (ON. **rannsaka**). For OE. **a(o)** before a nasal + a voiced stop see §§ 72–4.

NOTE.—**þenne, þen** *then*, **whenne, when** *when*, beside **þanne, þan, whanne, whan** were the unstressed forms. The preterites **cam** *he came*, **nam** *he took* beside **cōm** (OE. **c(w)ōm**), **nōm** (OE. **nōm**) were ME. new formations.

æ

§ 43. **æ** had become a sound lying between **e** and **æ** (generally written **e**) during the OE. period in Kent and the districts bordering on it, and also in the sw. Midlands, as **feder** *father*, **gled, smel, þet, wes, weschen** *to wash*. From about 1300 the **e** was supplanted by **a** in the sw. Midlands, and also in Kent and the districts bordering on it from about 1400. This change of **e** to **a** was to some extent not a sound-change, but merely a letter-change imported from those parts of the country which regularly had **a** from older **æ**, as is evidenced by the preservation of the **e**-sound in some of the dialects, especially the Kentish, down to the present day. In all the other parts of the country OE. **æ**, of whatever origin, became **a** in the early part of the twelfth century,

although the æ often continued to be written until a much later date, e. g. in the Proclamation of London (1258). Examples in closed syllables are: **appel** (OE. æppel, æpl), **baþ** (OE. bæþ), **craft** (OE. cræft), **þat** (OE. þæt), and similarly **after, at, ax** *axe*, **bak, blak, fasten, fat** *vat*, **glad, glas, gnat, gras,** pret. **hadde** (**hafde**) pp. **had, harvest, hat, paþ, sad, smal, staf, what,** pret. **bad** (OE. bæd), and similarly **bar, brak, brast, sat, spak, was.** For OE. æ in open syllables see § 79, 3.

Note.—1. ME. **whether** (OE. **hwæþer**) is the unstressed form which became generalized. **hedde** (OE. **hæfde**) *had*, **wes** (OE. **wæs**) *was* beside **hadde, was** were the unstressed forms. South Midland pret. sing. forms like **breek, seet, speek** were new formations with the long vowel of the plural levelled out into the singular. The northern form **quās** (**quhās**), and the Midland and southern **whǭs whǭs** (OE. **hwæs**) were new formations from the nom. **quā** (**quhā**), **whǭ whǭ** (OE. **hwā**) *who*. Northern forms like **efter, gres, seck** (**sekk**) beside **after, gras, sak** *sack* were ON. loan-words, and they are still in common use in the modern dialects of this area, see Index to *ED. Gr.*

2. Forms like west Midland **elder, fellen** beside **alder, fallen** had **e** beside æ also in OE., see *EOE. Gr.* § 57 note 1.

e

§ 44. OE. **e** in closed syllables = ME. **e**, as **bed** (OE. **bedd**), **better** (OE. **bet(e)ra, bettra**), **helpen** (OE. **helpan**), and similarly **benche, bersten** *to burst*, **beste, delven, fresch, helle** *hell*, **helm, henne, melten, men, nest, net, quenchen, sellen, senden, steppen, swelten** *to die*, **tellen, þreschen, wegge** *wedge*, **west, egg** (ON. **egg**), **legge** (ON. **leggr**) *leg*. For OE. **e** before **ld, nd, ng,** see §§ 71, 73, 74.

Note.—In some parts of the se. Midlands early OE. æ (= the **i**-umlaut of **a**(**o**) before nasals. *EOE. Gr.* § 57) remained until the early part of the twelfth century, and then became **a** at the same time as ordinary OE. æ (§ 43), as **ande** *end*, **man** *men*, **panewes**

panes pans *pennies, pence*, **sanden** *to send*, &c., but these and similar **a**-forms were ousted by the **e**-forms of the neighbouring dialects during the latter half of the fourteenth century.

i

§ 45. OE. **i** = ME. **i** in closed and generally also in open syllables (see § 85), and was often written **y** before and after nasals, **u** (= v), **w**, and finally, as **bidden** (OE. **biddan**) *to pray, bid*, **cribbe** (OE. **cribb**), **grim** (OE. **grimm**), **milken** (OE. **milcian**), **sinken** (OE. **sincan**), **þing** (OE. **þing**), and similarly **biginnen, bil** *axe*, **bitter, brid** *bird*, **bringen, chin, crisp, disch, drinken, finger, fisch, flicche** *flitch*, **his, is, lid, lippe, middel, ribbe, ring, schilling, schip, schrinken, sitten, spinnen, springen, stingen, stinken, swimmen, twig, þis, þridde** *third*, **winter**; **hider** *hither*, **liver, sive** *sieve*, **þider** *thither*, **witen** *to know*; pret. pl. and pp. of strong verbs belonging to class I (§ 396), as **biten** (OE. **biton, biten**), and similarly **biden, driven, gliden, riden, risen, schinen, writen.** **hitten** (ON. **hitta**) *to hit*, **ill** (ON. **illr**), **skil** (ON. **skil**), **skin** (ON. **skinn**). For OE. **i** before **ld, mb, nd**, see §§ 71–3.

§ 46. Late OE. **i**, of whatever origin, + **ht** remained throughout the ME. period in the northern and north Midland dialects, but in the south Midland and southern dialects it became lengthened to **ī** with gradual loss of the spirantal element from about the end of the fourteenth century, as **niht, niȝt, night, nīght** (early OE. **neaht** later **niht**), and similarly **miȝt** sb., **miȝti** adj., pret. **miȝte**; **kniȝt** (early OE. **cneoht** later **cniht**) *boy*, and similarly **riȝt**; **siȝt** (early WS. **gesiehþ** later **gesihþ, -siht**) *sight*; **diȝten** (OE. **dihtan** from Lat. **dictāre**) *to set in order*, and similarly **pliȝt, wiȝt** *thing, creature*, &c.

o

§ 47. OE. **o** in closed syllables = ME. **o**, as **borwen** (OE. **borgian**) *to borrow*, pp. **holpen** (OE. **holpen**), **þorn** (OE.

þorn), and similarly pp. **borsten** (**brosten**) *burst*, **box**, **broþ**, **colt**, **corn**, **flok**, **folk**, **folwen** *to follow*, **forke**, **fox**, **frogge**, **frost**, **god**, **hoppen**, **horn**, **hors**, **knotte** *knot*, **lok**, **morwe** (**morwen**, **morȝen**) *morning, morrow*, **norþ**, **ofte**, **orchard**, **oxe**, **port** *harbour*, **sorwe** (**sorȝe**) *sorrow*, **stork**, **storm**, **top**.

u

§ 48. OE. **u** = ME. **u** in closed and generally also in open syllables (see § 85). From about the middle of the thirteenth century **o** came to be written for **u** before and after nasals, **u** (= v), and **w**. The writing of **o** for **u** in these positions became pretty general towards the end of the century. In late ME. **o** was also generally written for **u** when followed by a single consonant + vowel (§ 9). This use of **o** for **u** is later than that of **u** for **y** = ü (§ 49), but earlier than the writing of **ou** for **ū** (§ 56). Examples are: **bukke** (OE. **bucca**), **ful** (OE. **full**), **hunger honger** (OE. **hungor**), and similarly **butter**, **clubbe** (ON. **klubba**), **cursen**, **ȝung ȝong** *young*, **huntere hontere**, **plukken**, **pullen**, **sum som** *some*, **sunne sonne** *sun*, **tunge tonge** *tongue*, **wulf wolf**, **wulle wolle** *wool*, pret. pl. and pp. of strong verbs belonging to Class III (§§ 403–4), as **runnen ronnen** (OE. **runnon**, **runnen**), and similarly **bigunnen bigonnen**, **drunken dronken**, **sungen songen**, **wunnen wonnen**; **cumen comen** (OE. **cuman**) *to come*, **dure dore** (OE. **duru**) *door*, and similarly **huni honi** *honey*, **luve love**, **nute note**, **sumer somer**, **sune sone** *son*.

y

§ 49. OE. **y** appears in ME. partly as **i**, partly as **e**, and partly as ü (written **u** from about 1100 onwards).

1. It became unrounded to **i** in late OE. or early ME. in all the northern counties, in a great part of the east Midland counties, including Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and the districts bordering on these counties, as well as in parts of the south-

western counties, especially Devonshire, Dorsetshire, and Wiltshire.

2. It became **e** in Kent and parts of Middlesex, Sussex, Essex, and Suffolk during the OE. period, and remained as such in ME. and also in many of the modern dialects of this area, see *ED. Gr.* § 109. In Chaucer the forms with **e** are nearly as numerous as those with **i**. A few of the **e**-forms have crept into standard NE., as **fledged** (mod. n. dialects **fligd**), **kernel, knell, left** adj.

3. In all other parts of the country, including the west Midlands, it remained and was written **u** until about the end of the fourteenth century and then became unrounded to **i**; see, however, § 125. The London dialect also belonged to the ü-area in early ME. as is evidenced by the ü-forms in the Proclamation of London (1258). The writing of **u** for **y** is earlier than that of **o** for **u** (§ 9), both of which are due to the influence of Anglo-French orthography.

Examples are: **brigge bregge brugge** (OE. **brycg**) *bridge*, **dippen deppen duppen** (OE. **dyppan**) *to dip*, **kin** (**kyn**) **ken kun** (OE. **cynn**) *race, generation*, **kissen kessen kussen** (OE. **cyssan**) *to kiss*, **sinne** (**synne**) **senne** (**zenne**) **sunne** (OE. **synn**) *sin*, and similarly **birþe, chirche, cripel, dine** *din*, **dint, disi** *foolish*, **fillen, fixene** *vixen*, **first, hil, hippe, hirdel, kichene, king, kirnel, listen** *to please*, **listen** *to listen*, **lift** *left*, **mille, pit, rigge** *ridge*, **schitten** *to shut*, **sister** (ON. **syster**), **stiren, þinken** *to seem*, **þinne** (**þynne**), **winne** (**wynne**) *joy*. For the writing of **y** for **i** see § 45. For OE. **y** before **nd** see § 73.

B. The Long Vowels.

§ 50. During the ME. period OE. **ā** became **ǭ** in the dialects south of the Humber, **ō** became **ū** in the dialects north of the Humber, and **ȳ** was unrounded to **ī** in those areas where it had remained in OE. (§ 57), but the vowels

ǣ, ē, ī, and ū underwent no independent changes. In the course of the fifteenth century, however, the vowels ī, ū (south of the Humber) began to undergo diphthongization, and ē, ō (south of the Humber) had become ī, ū in sound before the end of the century, see *ENE. Gr.* §§ 71, 73, 75, 77.

ā

§ 51. OE. ā had become long open ǭ in all the dialects south of the Humber by about the year 1225. The change of ā to ǭ did not take place throughout this large area at one and the same time. In some dialects, especially the southern, it undoubtedly took place in the latter half of the twelfth century and in others later, e. g. it had not taken place in the east Midland dialect of Orm at the time he wrote the *Ormulum* (about 1200). But it must have taken place before the influx of early French loan-words like **dāme, fāble, rāge** (§ 195), and before the lengthening of early ME. ă in open syllables, as **nāme, māken,** &c. (§ 79), otherwise these two types of words would also have been included in the change of ā to ǭ. The ǭ was sometimes written **oa** (**ao**) and from the fourteenth century onwards it was very often written **oo** in closed syllables and when final. In the dialects north of the Humber the ā remained until about the end of the thirteenth century, when it became long open ę̄, although the ā was mostly retained in writing, and from the time of Barbour (1375) it was often written **ai, ay** (cp. § 121). Throughout this large area OE. ā, the long ā in early French loan-words, and early ME. ă in open syllables all fell together in ę̄. This great characteristic difference between the ME. development of OE. ā in the dialects north and south of the Humber has been preserved in the modern dialects right down to the present day. On the other hand the modern dialects north of the Humber still preserve the distinction in development between OE. ā and early ME. ŏ in open syllables (§ 81), whereas in the other dialects they

have generally fallen together just as in the standard language. Examples are: **bǭn bǫǫn bān** (OE. **bān**) *bone*, **bǭt bǫǫt bāt** (OE. **bāt**) *boat*, **grǭpen grāpe** (OE. **grāpian**) *to grope*, **mǭre māre** (OE. **māra**) *more*, **tǭ tǫǫ tā** (OE. **tā**) *toe*, and similarly **bǭr, bǭþe** *both*, **brǭd, clǭþ, fǭm** *foam*, **gǭn** *to go*, **gǭst** *ghost*, **gǭt, hǭl** *whole*, **hǭm, hǭt, lǭf, nǭn** *none*, **ǭn** *one*, **ǭte** *oats*, **ǭþ, rǭd, rǭp** *rope*, **sǭr, strǭken, tǭde** *toad*, **þǭs** *those*, **wǭ** *woe*, **wǭt** *I know*; the pret. sing. of strong verbs belonging to class I (§ 396), as **arǭs, bǭd, bǭt, drǭf, schǭn, slǭd, smǭt, strǭd, wrǭt.**

Note.—The **ǭ** from OE. **ā** was probably a low-back-narrow-round vowel like the **a** in NE. **all**, whereas the ME. **ǭ** which arose from OE. **ŏ** in open syllables was probably a mid-back-wide-round vowel (§ 81). Although the two sounds have fallen together in the NE. standard language they are still kept apart in some of the north Midland dialects, the former having become **uə** (**ọə**) and the latter **ọi**, as **ɯəm ọəm** (OE. **hām**) *home*, but **þrọit** (OE. **þrote**) *throat.*

ǣ

§ 52. In dealing with the history of OE. **ǣ** in ME. it is necessary to distinguish between **ǣ́** = Germanic **ǣ** and the **ǣ̌** = the i-umlaut of **ā**.

1. Germanic **ǣ́** had become long close **ē** in the non-WS. dialects in early OE., but by the end of the OE. period the **ǣ** had spread again to Middlesex, Essex, parts of the south Midland counties, and parts of East Anglia. From these latter areas words containing this **ǣ**-sound gradually crept into most of the other areas during the ME. period as is evidenced by the modern dialects.

2. **ǣ̌** = the i-umlaut of **ā** became long close **ē** in Kentish during the OE. period, and remained as such throughout the ME. period. In all the other dialects the **ǣ**-sound (= **ę̄**) generally remained in ME. until near the end of the fifteenth century when it became **ę̄**, see § 63 note.

In consequence of the spreading of ǣ in 1, Chaucer sometimes has ę̄ beside ē̦, as dęęd beside dēē̦d *deed*, generally rę̄den, wę̄re(n) beside drę̄de *drcad*, slę̄pen; and probably through the influence of Kentish ę̄ in 2 he occasionally has ę̄ beside ē̦, as clę̄ne, lę̄den, lę̄ren *to teach*, beside clē̦ne, lē̦den, lē̦ren.

In those areas where the ǣ-sound in 1 and 2 had remained throughout the OE. period the ǣ was preserved in writing until about the end of the twelfth century, and occasionally even later, as in the Proclamation of London (1258). In the *Ormulum* (about 1200) it was also used to express Germanic ǣ as well, although this ǣ had become ę̄ in Orm's dialect hundreds of years before his time. This was due to Orm having adopted the classical WS. system of orthography. Through the influence of Anglo-Norman orthography the ǣ was generally supplanted by ę̄ from about the end of the twelfth century, and from the fourteenth century onwards it was very often written ee in closed syllables and when final. After OE. ēa had been monophthongized to ǣ (§ 63) the ēa came to be written sometimes for old ǣ in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, and occasionally also in the fourteenth century. This change of ǣ to ē (ee), generally written ę̄ (ęę) in grammars, was not a sound-change, but merely an orthographical change. The sound itself, viz. a low-front-narrow vowel like the ai in NE. air, remained in ME.

In those areas where the long close ę̄ had remained at the end of the OE. period, it also remained in ME. and was written e. From the fourteenth century onwards it was very often written ee in closed syllables and when final. In grammars it is generally written ę̄ (ęę).

Examples of 1 are: dę̄d (Angl. and Ken. dēd) dē̦d (WS. dǣd) *deed*, slę̄pen (Angl. and Ken. slēpan) slē̦pen (WS. slǣpan) *to sleep*, and similarly bę̄re *bier*, ē̦l, ē̦ven *evening*, hę̄r *hair*, hę̄ring, lē̦ten, mę̄de *meadow*, mē̦l *meal, repast*, nę̄dle, rę̄den,

sę̄d, spę̄che, strę̄te, þę̄re *there*, þrę̄d, wę̄pen, whę̄re, wę̄te *wet*; pret. pl. of strong verbs belonging to classes IV (§ 407) and V (§ 408), as bę̄ren, ę̄ten, sę̄ten, wę̄ren, &c. mę̄den (WS. mæden) *maiden*, pret. sę̄de (WS. sæde) *he said*.

Examples of 2 are: dę̄len (Angl. and WS. dælan) dę̄len (Ken. dēlan) *to divide*, clę̄ne (Angl. and WS. clæne) clę̄ne (Ken. clēne), and similarly blę̄chen, brę̄de *breadth*, ę̄ni *any*, ę̄vre *ever*, hę̄len, hę̄te, hę̄þ, lę̄den, lę̄ne *lean*, lę̄nen *to lend*, lę̄ren *to teach*, lę̄ven, rę̄chen, rę̄ren *to rear*, sę̄ *sea*, sprę̄den, swę̄ten, tę̄chen, whę̄te.

Note.—1. The ę̄ = OE. ǣ was a low-front-narrow vowel like the ai in NE. air, whereas the ME. ę̄ which arose from OE. ĕ in open syllables was probably a mid-front-wide vowel (§ 80). Although the two sounds have fallen together in standard NE. they are still kept apart in many of the north Midland dialects, the former having become iə and the latter ei, as liəd (OE. lædan) *to lead*, but eit (OE. etan) *to eat*.

2. In parts of the se. Midlands (Middlesex, Essex, Herts., &c.) it became usual to write ā for ę̄ (= Germanic ǣ and the i-umlaut of OE. ā, as dād, lāten; lāden, tāchen) from about 1100 until well on into the thirteenth century, and then the ā was gradually ousted by ę̄. The writing of ā for old ǣ in these parts was only a letter-change. The ǣ could not have become ā in sound, otherwise it would have fallen altogether with old ā; and furthermore the modern dialects in these parts have no trace of ME. ā for ǣ, but see, however, Luick, *Hist. Gr.*, pp. 345–6.

ē

§ 53. OE. long close ē, of whatever origin, = ME. long close ę̄ (cp. § 50). From the fourteenth century onwards it was very often written ee in closed syllables and when final, and in later ME. it was often written ie through the influence of French orthography. Examples are: 1. Germanic ē, as hę̄r hę̄re (OE. hēr) *here*, mę̄de (OE. mēd) *meed, reward*. 2. The pret. of strong verbs belonging to class VII (§ 414), as lę̄t

(OE. lēt) *he let*, and similarly hę̄t *he was called*, slę̄p *he slept*. 3. The i-umlaut of OE. ō, as dę̄men (OE. dēman) *to judge*, fę̄t (OE. fēt) *feet*, and similarly bę̄che, blę̄den, fę̄den, fę̄len, gę̄s, grę̄ne, grę̄ten, hę̄den, kę̄ne *keen*, kę̄pen, mę̄ten, quę̄ne, sę̄ken (sę̄chen), sę̄men, spę̄de *success*, swę̄te, tę̄þ, wę̄pen *to weep*. 4. In Latin loan-words, as bę̄te (OE. bēte, Lat. bēta) *beetroot*, crę̄de (OE. crēda *creed*, Lat. crēdō *I believe*). 5. OE. lengthened ē in monosyllables, as hę̄ *he*, mę̄ *me*, þę̄ *thee*, wę̄ *we*. For forms like bę̄ken *beacon*, ę̄k *also*, lę̄k *leek*, see § 35.

ī

§ 54. OE. ī = ME. ī (cp. § 50) which was very often written y before and after nasals, u (= v) and w (§ 9), and in Chaucer y is also very common in other combinations, as fīf fīve (OE. fīf) *five*, sīde (OE. sīde) *side*, tīme tȳme (OE. tīma) *time*, þīn þȳn (OE. þīn) *thine*, wīs wȳs (OE. wīs) *wise*, and similarly blīþe, īren, īs *ice*, īvi, knīf (ON. knīfr), līf, līken *to please*, līm, mīle, pīpe, swīn, tīde, whīle, whīt, wīf, wīn; in the present of strong verbs belonging to class I (§ 396), as bīten (OE. bītan) *to bite*, and similarly bīden, chīden, drīven, glīden, rīden, schīnen, smīten, strīden, þrīven, wrīten.

ō

§ 55. In the dialects south of the Humber OE. long close ō = ME. long close ǭ (cp. § 50), also very often written oo in closed syllables and when final from the fourteenth century onwards. In the dialects north of the Humber the ǭ became ū̄ through the intermediate stage ȫ about 1300, and was generally written u through the influence of Anglo-Norman orthography, and sometimes o, later also ui, oi (cp. § 121), but it was not written o before nasals, u (= v), after w, and when final. Many of the northern dialects, especially the Scottish, have preserved the ü- or ö-sound down to the present day. Examples are: bǭk bū̄k later buik (OE. bōc) *book*, gǭs gū̄s later guis (OE. gōs) *goose*, lǭken lū̄ke(n) later

luike(n) (OE. lōcian) *to look*, and similarly blǭd, brǭd, brǭk, brǭm, brǭþer, cǭk, cǭl, dǭm, dǭn (dǭ), flǭd, fǭde, fǭt, gǭd, hǭd, hǭk, mǭder, mǭne *moon*, mǭneþ, nǭn, ǭþer, pǭl rǭf, rǭk, rǭte, schǭ, sǭne, sǭt, spǭn, stǭl, tǭl, tǭþ; the pret. of strong verbs belonging to class VI (§ 411), as awǭk, forsǭk, schǭk, schǭp *he created*, stǭd, swǭr, tǭk. Pret. sing. cǭm (OE. c(w)ōm), nōm (OE. nōm) *he took*, beside the ME. new formations cam com, nam nom.

ū

§ 56. OE. ū = ME. ū. Through the influence of Anglo-Norman orthography it was often written ou (ow) from the second half of the thirteenth century and became general in the fourteenth. By the time of Chaucer it was generally written ow when final and frequently also in open syllables, especially before l, n, and v, but in other positions it was mostly written ou (§ 9). Examples are: brū brow (OE. brū) *brow*, dūn doun down (OE. dūn) *down*, hūs hous (OE. hūs) *house*, mūþ mouþ (OE. mūþ) *mouth*, and similarly abouten *about*, broun, cloud, clout, cou (cow), croume *crumb*, douke *duck*, douve *dove*, foul, goune, hou (how), loud, louken *to close*, lous, mous, nou (now), oule (owle), our, out, ploume *plum*, proud, rouȝ *rough*, roum, schour, schroud, scoulen (ON. skūla), souken *to suck*, souþ, toun, þou (þow), þoume (þoumbe) *thumb*, þousend.

ȳ

§ 57. The development of OE. ȳ in ME. went parallel with that of short y (§ 49), viz. it appears in ME. partly as ī, partly as ē̤, and partly as ṳ̄ (written u, ui, rarely uy from about 1100 onwards, see § 9).

1. It became unrounded to ī in late OE. or early ME. in all the northern counties, in a great part of the east Midland counties, including Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and the districts bordering on these counties, as well as in parts of the south-

western counties, especially Devonshire, Dorsetshire, and Wiltshire.

2. It became ę̄ in Kent and parts of Middlesex, Sussex, Essex, and Suffolk during the OE. period, and remained as such in ME. In the modern dialects of this area the ę̄ has become ī, as **mīs** = ME. **mę̄s** *mice*.

3. In all other parts of the country including the west Midlands, it remained and was written **u, ui** (rarely **uy**), until about the end of the fourteenth century and then became unrounded to ī.

Examples are: **brīde brę̄de brūde** (OE. **brȳd**) *bride*, **fīr fę̄r** (**vę̄r**) **fūr** (OE. **fȳr**) *fire*, **hīden hę̄den hūden** (OE. **hȳdan**) *to hide*, and similarly **hīde, hīre, hīve, līs, mīs, prīde, whī** *why*; **līþen** (ON. **hlȳða**) *to listen*, **mīre** (ON. **mȳrr**) *mire*, **skie** (ON. **skȳ** *cloud*) *sky*.

C. The Diphthongs.

§ 58. All the diphthongs **ĕa, ĕo, ĭo** became monophthongs in late OE. except in Kentish, although they mostly continued to be written long after this sound-change had taken place. **ĭe**, which only occurred in the WS. area, had become monophthongized to **ў, ĭ** by the time of Alfred, although the **ĭe** mostly continued to be written until a very much later date.

1. *The Short Diphthongs.*

ea

§ 59. OE. **ea**, of whatever origin, became **æ** in the early part of the eleventh century, although the old spelling with **ea** was often preserved in writing until a much later date. This **æ** fell together with old **æ** and along with it became **a** in the early part of the twelfth century (§ 43). Examples are: **all** (OE. **eall**) *all*, **fallen** (OE. **feallan**) *to fall*, **barn** (OE. **bearn**) *child*, and similarly **calf** (see § 284), **callen, chalk, half, halle** *hall*, pret. **halp** *he helped*, **malt, salt,**

scharp, swal(e)we *swallow,* wall; arm, dar(r) *I dare,* ȝard, hard, harm, sparke, sparwe *sparrow,* sward, swarm, warm; chaf, ȝaf *he gave,* ȝat *gate,* schadwe *shadow,* schaft, schal.

eo

§ 60. eo, of whatever origin, became ö in late OE. in all the dialects, although the eo was often preserved in writing until well on into the ME. period. The ö then became unrounded to e during the twelfth century in the northern, east Midland, and south Midland dialects, but remained in the west Midland and southern dialects (except Kentish) until about the end of the fourteenth century, when it also became unrounded to e. In these latter dialects the ö-sound was written eo and later through the influence of Anglo-Norman orthography o, ue and sometimes u. Examples are: herte, heorte horte huerte hurte (OE. heorte) *heart*; erþe, eorþe urþe (OE. eorþe) *earth,* and similarly berken *to bark,* cherl *churl,* derk, erl *Earl,* ernest, ferre *far,* kerven *to carve,* self (for silf, sülf see *EOE. Gr.* § 311), smerten, sterre *star,* sterven *to die,* ȝel(o)we *yellow,* hert *hart,* heven(e), seven(e), werk *work.*

ie

§ 61. WS. ie, of whatever origin, was monophthongized to y, i by the time of Alfred, although it generally continued to be written until a very much later date, cp. § 49 and *EOE. Gr.* § 67. The chief sources of the ie were: 1. The i-umlaut of ea after initial palatal c-, g-, sc-; 2. the i-umlaut of ea which arose from breaking; 3. the i-umlaut of io; and 4. Germanic e after initial palatal c-, g-, sc-. For 1, 2, and 4 the other dialects regularly had e in OE. and ME., but for 2 the west Midland had a (before 1+cons.) in early ME. which was later supplanted by the e of the other dialects, and for 3 they had io (eo) in OE. and i (e) in ME., see § 62. In ME. the y had the same further development as old y (§ 49).

Examples are: chüle chile, chele *cold, coldness*; güst gist, gest *guest*; schüppen schippen, scheppen *to create*; chürren chirren, cherren *to turn*; dürne, derne *dark, hidden*; üldre, eldre, aldre *elder*; füllen, fellen, fallen *to fell*; süllen sillen (WS. siellan, syllan, sellan), sellen *to sell*; ȝürnen ȝirnen, ȝernen *to desire*; hürde hirde, herde *shepherd*; ürre irre, erre *anger*; bigüten bigiten, bigeten *to beget*; ȝüllen, ȝellen *to yell*.

io

§ 62. io, of whatever origin, had become eo during the OE. period except in Northumbrian and a part of n. Mercian where the io remained. In ME. the eo had the same development as old eo (§ 60), and the io became i, as melk, milk (OE. miol(u)c, meol(u)c) *milk*, and similarly selk, silk, selver, silver; hirde (Nth. hiorde) *shepherd*, and similarly irre *anger*.

2. *The Long Diphthongs.*

ēa > ǣ > ę́

§ 63. ēa, of whatever origin, became ǣ in Anglian and WS. in the early part of the eleventh century, and thus fell together with old ǣ = the i-umlaut of ā (see § 52 and note 1), although the ēa was often preserved in writing until well on into the ME. period. Through the influence of Anglo-Norman orthography the ǣ was generally supplanted by ę́ from about the end of the twelfth century, and from the fourteenth century onwards it was very often written ee in closed syllables and when final. This change of ǣ to ę́ (ęę), generally written ē (ęę) in grammars, was not a sound-change, but merely an orthographical change. The sound itself, viz. a low-front-narrow vowel like the ai in NE. air, remained in ME. until near the end of the fifteenth century when it became ę, see note. In Kentish ēa became a rising diphthong in the second half of the twelfth century, which was generally written ea, ia, ya, yea, and in the fourteenth

century e, rarely ye, which seems to indicate that by this time it had become long ē. Examples are: dēd, dead dyad dyead (OE. dēad) *dead*; lēpen, leapen lyapen lyeapen (OE. hlēapan) *to leap*, and similarly bēm, bēne *bean*, bēten, brēd, chēpe *cheap*, dēf, dēþ, drēm, ēre *car*, ēst, flē *flea*, grēt, hēp, hēved (hēd) *head*, lēf, rēd *red*, slēn *to slay*, stēm, stēp, strēm; pret. chēs *he chose*.

Note.—In both native words (cp. §§ 52. 2, 80) and Fr. loan-words (cp. §§ 196, 205. 3, 217, 223) the ē, of whatever origin, became ē towards the end of the fifteenth century, that is, soon after old ē had become ī (§ 50), see *ENE. Gr.* § 72.

§ 64. The non-WS. dialects had ē for early WS. ēa (= Germanic æ, § 52) after initial palatal c-, g-, sc-, which remained in ME., as chēke *cheek*, ȝēr *year*, ȝēven *they gave*, schēp *sheep*, cp. § 34.

ēo

§ 65. ēo, of whatever origin, became ō in Anglian and WS. in late OE., although the ēo was often preserved in writing until well on into the ME. period. The ō then became unrounded to close ē during the twelfth century in the northern, east Midland, and south Midland dialects, but remained in the west Midland and southern dialects (except Kentish, see § 67) until about the end of the fourteenth century, when it also became unrounded to ē. In these latter dialects the ō-sound was written eo and later through the influence of Anglo-Norman orthography o, ue and sometimes u, w, we, cp. § 112. The ē was very often written ee in closed syllables and when final, and in later ME. also often ie (§ 9). Examples are: dēp diep, deop duep dup (OE. dēop) *deep*; þēf þief, þeof þuef þuf (OE. þēof) *thief*, and similarly bē *a bee*, bēden *to bid*, bēn *to be*, clēven *to cleave*, crēpen, dēr *deer*, fēnd *fiend*, flēn *to flee*, flēs *fleece*, frēnd *friend*, frēsen, knē, lēf *dear*, lēsen *to lose*, rēd *reed*, rēken *to smoke*, schēten *to shoot*, sēke beside sike *sick* (§ 99), sēn *to see*,

sēþen, snēsen, wēde *weed*; the pret. of strong verbs belonging to class VII (§ 414), as bēt *he beat*, hēld *he held*, lēp beside lepte *he leapt*, wēp beside wepte *he wept*.

Note.—In some words the éo became a rising diphthong eó which in ME. became ǭ by absorption of the first element. This often gave rise to double forms, as chǭsen, schǭten beside chēsen, schēten; ʒǭde beside ʒēde (OE. ge·eóde beside ge·éode) *he went*.

īe

§ 66. WS. īe, of whatever origin, was monophthongized to ȳ, ī (cp. § 9 and *EOE. Gr.* § 67) by the time of Alfred, although it generally continued to be written until a very much later date. The chief sources of the īe were: 1. The i-umlaut of īo = īo (ēo) in the other dialects (cp. § 67); and 2. the i-umlaut of ēa = ē in the other OE. and ME. dialects. In ME. the ȳ had the same further development as old ȳ (§ 57). Examples are: dēre, dūre dīre (OE. dīore, dēore, dīere) *dear*, hēren, hūren huiren (§ 9) hīren (OE. hēran, hīeran) *to hear*, and similarly alēsen *to deliver*, bēʒen later beien (cp. § 107, 6) *to bend*, bilēven *to believe*, chēse, ēken *to increase*, nēde, slēve, stēle *steel*, stēpel.

īo

§ 67. Old īo had become ēo in all the dialects except the Kentish before the end of the OE. period, and then had the same further development in these dialects as old ēo (§ 65). On the other hand old ēo had become īo (also written īa) in Kentish by the end of the OE. period, and then had the same further development as old īo. The īo became īe in early ME. Then it became a rising diphthong medially, written ie, ye and sometimes i, e, which became ē in the fourteenth century, but remained finally and then later became ī also written ȳ. Examples are: diep dyep (OE. dēop) *deep*, diere dyere (OE. dīore, dēore, WS. dīere) *dear*, and similarly liese lyese *to lose*, lyeve lēve *dear*, viend vyend

fiend, but **bī bȳ** (OE. **bīon, bēon**) *to be*, **vlȳ** (OE. **flēon**) *to flee*, **vrī vrȳ** (OE. **frīo, frēo**) *free*, **zī zȳ** *to see*. See Luick, *Hist. Gr.*, p. 338.

2. DEPENDENT CHANGES

(1) The Lengthening of Short Vowels before Consonant Combinations.

§ 68. From our knowledge of ME. phonology it is clear that short vowels and short diphthongs must have been lengthened some time during the OE. period before certain consonant combinations, especially before a liquid or a nasal + a homorganic voiced consonant, that is, before **ld, rd, nd, mb, ng, rl, rn,** and probably also before **rþ, rs** + vowel. This lengthening of short vowels and short diphthongs took place some time before the end of the ninth century. But the lengthening did not take place when the consonant combination was immediately followed by another consonant, as pl. **lambru : lāmb** *lamb*, comp. **lengra : lāng** *long*, **heardra : hēard** *hard*, pret. **sende** from **sendde* : inf. **sēndan** *to send*, pl. **cildru : cīld** *child*, **hundred : hūnd** *hundred*, pl. **sculdru : scūldor** *shoulder*, **wundru : wūndor** *wonder*, &c.; nor in unstressed forms, as **sceolde** *should*, **under, wolde** *would*.

§ 69. In the transition period from OE. to ME., in early ME., and during the ME. period the long vowels were shortened again before some of the combinations, especially before **rd, rl, rn, rþ,** and **rs**, so that the combinations with which we are specially concerned are only **ld, mb, nd,** and **ng**. And even before these latter combinations shortening began to take place before **mb, nd,** and **ng** in the course of the late twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries.

§ 70. From what is said below it will be seen that whether the long vowels were preserved or became shortened again depended partly upon the nature of the following consonant

combination, partly upon the nature of the vowel, and partly upon difference of dialect. The lengthening before ld was generally preserved in all the dialects. Shortening had taken place before nd, ng, and rd (see below) in Orm's dialect before he wrote the *Ormulum*, as senndenn *to send*, brinngenn *to bring*, harrd *hard*. For OE. a(o) before nasals (§ 42) Chaucer has o before nd, ng, but ǭ before mb, as hond, lond, stondon, but cǭmb; pret. clǭmb *he climbed*, lǭmb, wǭmb. In his dialect long ę̄ (= OE. īo (ēo), ē) remained before nd and ng, as fę̄nd *fiend*, hę̄ng *he hung*, and also ī before mb, nd, as clīmben, fīnden, but i before ng, as bringen; ū remained before nd, as ground, but was shortened before mb, ng, as pp. clomben (o = u, § 9) *climbed*, songen *sung*; a was short before rd, as hard, warde, but OE. lengthened ō remained long, as bōrd *board*, hōrd *hoard*, and similarly in Orm's dialect. For ę̄ (= early OE. ea, later ēa) before rd he has ę̄, as bę̄rd *beard*, yę̄rd *yard*, and similarly before rn, as bę̄rn *child*, fę̄rn *fern*, but for OE. ē he has e, as pret. herde (OE. hērde) *he heard*, pp. herd (OE. hēred), pret. ferde (OE. fērde) *he behaved*. ī, ū were shortened to i, u in all the north Midland and northern dialects and are still short in all the modern dialects of this area, but remained long in the other dialects, as bīnden, pp. bounden. Long vowels and diphthongs before the consonant groups which originally caused lengthening were shortened in monosyllabic forms during the late OE. period in Kentish, but were preserved in the inflected forms, as lamb : lāmbe, hand : hānda, hund *hound* : hūndas, eald : ēalde which in ME. became ealde, yalde (cp. § 63). This gave rise in ME. to many new formations through levelling out in different directions.

§ 71. ld: The lengthening before ld was generally preserved in all the dialects.

Anglian ā from older a (= early WS. and Ken. ea, later ēa) remained in early ME. in the northern dialects, but in

the Midland and some of the southern dialects it became ǭ at the same time as old ā became ǫ (§ 51). In the other southern dialects the later WS. ēa became ę̄ at the same time as old ēa became ē, but the ēa remained a diphthong in Kentish (§ 63). A few of these southern forms with ę̄ are found in Chaucer, as hę̄lde *to hold*, wę̄lde *to rule*, although the ę̄ had generally been ousted by the ǭ of the other dialects in the early part of the thirteenth century. Examples are: cǭld, northern cāld, southern chę̄ld, Ken. chealde *cold*, and similarly bǭld, fǭlden, hǭlden, ǭld, pret. sǭlde, tǭlde, pp. sǭld, tǭld.

ę̄, also written ee, as fę̄ld (early OE. feld, later fēld) *field*, chę̄lde *cold* sb., ę̄lde *old age*, ȝę̄lden *to recompense*, sę̄ld *seldom*, schę̄ld *shield*, wę̄lden *to wield*.

ī, as chīld (early OE. cild, later cīld), and similarly mīlde, wīlde.

ǭ, as gǭld (early OE. gold, later gōld) = early NE. gūld, Gould, beside gŏld = NE. gold, and similarly mǭlde *mould*; pret. schǭlde, wǭlde beside the unstressed forms schŏlde (Orm shollde), wolde (Orm wollde).

§ 72. **mb**: cǭmb (cp. § 51), northern cāmb (early OE. camb, later cāmb), and similarly lǭmb, later lamb, formed from the pl. lambren, wǭmb (see § 128), pret. clǭmb *he climbed*.

ī, as clīmben clȳmben (early OE. climban, later clīmban).

ū, as dūmb doumb *dumb*, beside pp. clomben (o = u) *climbed*.

§ 73. **nd**: Before nd all vowels were short or became shortened in the late twelfth and the early thirteenth centuries in the northern and north Midland dialects. In the other Midland and the southern dialects they all, except ī (= early OE. i, y) and ū, became shortened during the ME. period, but the approximate date of this shortening is difficult to fix.

The ǭ from older OE. **a** (o) before nasals remained until well on into the ME. period in the south Midland and the southern dialects, and then became shortened to **o**, hence Chaucer has **o**, but we have **a** in the north Midland and the northern dialects. And then the forms with **o** were gradually ousted by those with **a** towards the end of the fourteenth century. Examples are: Early ME. hǭnd, hānd, later **hond, hand**; stǭnden, stānden, later **stonden, standen**, and similarly **band** sb., pret. **band** *he bound*, **land, sand, strand**, &c.

ę̄, as early ME. ę̄nde (early OE. **ende**, later ēnde) *end*, bę̄nden *to bend*; later **ende, benden**, and similarly **blenden, renden, spenden**; sę̄nden, later **senden**, but pret. always **sende** from older ***sendde**, and similarly with the preterite of the other verbs. The ME. ę̄ from OE. īo (ēo), see § 65, seems not to have been regularly shortened before **nd**, as frę̄nd (OE. frīond, frēond) beside **frend** formed from the compound **frendschipe** (§ 92, 2), but always fę̄nd (OE. fīond, fēond), because there was no compound beside it.

ī, as blīnd, **blind** (early OE. **blind**, later **blīnd**), and similarly līnde *lime-tree*, rīnde, wīnd; inf. bīnden, **binden** (early OE. **bindan**, later **bīndan**), and similarly fīnden, grīnden, wīnden, &c.; kīnde, mīnde.

ū, as grūnd (generally written **ground**), **grund** (early OE. **grund**, later grūnd), and similarly **hound, pound, sound** *healthy*, **wounde** *wound*, past participles like **bounden, founden, wounden** *wound*.

§ 74. **ng**: The OE. lengthened ī, ū became short again in early ME. in all the dialects, as **finger, ring**, þing; ȝung (ȝong) *young*, **hunger** (**honger**), **tunge** (**tonge**) *tongue*; inf. **singen**, pp. **sungen**, and similarly **springen, stingen, wringen**.

The OE. lengthened ā (ō), ē became short again in the latter part of the thirteenth and early part of the fourteenth centuries, as lāng, lǭng, later **lang, long**, and similarly

hongen *to hang*, strong, þong, wrong. lenger *longer*, lenþe (§ 263), mengen (mingen) *to mix*, streng (string) *string*, see § 132.

§ 75. Neither in OE. nor in ME. were short vowels lengthened when the consonant combination which usually caused lengthening was followed by a third consonant, see § 68. Examples are: Orm allderrmann : āld *old*; comp. eldre eldere *elder*, seldere : sẹ̄ld *seldom*; pl. children childre : chīld, wildernesse : wīld; sing. and pl. schuldre (Orm sing. schulldre) *shoulder*. dumbnesse : doumb *dumb*, whence the back-formation dumb; pl. lambre, lambren : lāmb, whence the back-formation lamb; timbre *timber*; slumbren. candle, gandre (OE. gandra), wandren; hindren, spindle; blundren, hundred, wundren, pl. wundres, from which a new singular wunder was formed. þunder always had short u, because it was from OE. þunor. Pl. engles, whence new sing. engel *angel*. Many exceptions to the above arose in ME. through new formations from the simple forms which regularly had long vowels, as chīldhẹ̄de, -hō̜de : chīld; frẹ̄ndli beside frendli : frẹ̄nd; sẹ̄lden (Ellesmere MS. seelden) beside selden : sẹ̄ld, &c.

§ 76. Long vowels also arose in early ME. through the loss of þ in the medial combinations -þn-, -þr- of words which had accented and unaccented forms side by side, as hĕn (ON. heþan) *hence*, sĕn, sĭn (OE. siþþan, sioþþan) *since*, þĕn (ON. þeþan) *thence*, wĕn, earlier wheþen (ON. hvaþan) *whence*, whĕr (OE. hweþer) *whether*, ŏr, early ME. oþ(e)r. Then after the analogy of forms like ME. hider, þider, whider with i were formed hiþen, þiþen, whiþen, which also became hĭn, þĭn, whĭn. Cp. § 249.

(2) The Lengthening of Short Vowels in Open Syllables.

§ 77. ME. short vowels, of whatever origin, were lengthened in open syllables of dissyllabic forms during the thirteenth century. The lengthening of **a, e, o** to **ā, ę̄, ǭ** took place in all the dialects, whereas that of **i, u** to **ę̄, ǭ** only took place in some of them. And as the lengthening of **a, e, o** took place earlier than that of **i, u** and with an entirely different result, we shall deal with them in two separate groups.

1. a, e, o

§ 78. The lengthening of **a, e, o** to **ā, ę̄, ǭ** took place somewhat earlier in the dialects north of the Humber than in those south of it, but in both areas the vowels had been lengthened before the end of the first half of the thirteenth century. In the dialects north of the Humber the new **ā** fell together with old **ā** (§ 51), but in the dialects south of it they were kept apart, because old **ā** had become **ǭ** (§ 51) before the lengthening of **a** to **ā** took place. The new **ę̄, ǭ** differed in quality from the ME. **ę̄** which arose from OE. **ǣ, ēa** (§§ 52, 63), and the **ǭ** which arose from OE. **ā** (§ 51 and note). The new **ę̄, ǭ** were probably mid-front-wide like the long of the short **e** in standard NE. **men**, and mid-back-wide-round like the first element of the diphthong in standard NE. **so**, and the older **ę̄, ǭ** were low-front-narrow like the **ai** in standard NE. **air** and low-back-narrow-round like the **a** in standard NE. **all**. Although the two pairs have fallen together in standard NE. and may also have fallen together in the south Midland and southern dialects during the ME. period, they certainly did not fall together in the north Midland and northern dialects, because they are still kept apart in the modern dialects of this area, e.g. in Yks., Lanc., Derb., Stf. the new **ę̄** has become **ei**, but the old **ę̄** has become **iə** or some such diphthong. The new

ǭ has become ǫi and the older ǭ has become uə, ǫə or some such diphthong.

ā

§ 79. 1. From OE. a, as bāken (OE. bacan), hāre (OE. hara), and similarly āpe, awāken, bāþen, cāre, drāke, hāten *to hate*, lāke, māken, nāked, rāke, sāke, spāde, wāden, wāven. bāre (OE. masc. pl. bare) *bare*, dāle (OE. pl. dalu), gāte (OE. pl. gatu), and similarly blāde, glāde *glad*, grāve, lāte, smāle *small*, tāle. tāken (ON. taka), and similarly cāke, gāsen *to gaze*, gāpen *to gape*.

2. From OE. a (o) before nasals, as nāme, but nǭme in the west Midlands (OE. nama), see § 42, and similarly gāme, lāme, lāne, schāme, &c.

3. From OE. æ, south-eastern dialects e (§ 43), as fāder, fę̄der, vę̄der (OE. fæder, feder) *father*, rāven, rę̄ven (OE. hræfen, hrefen) *raven*, see § 102; and similarly āker *acre*, *field*, brāsen *brazen*, hāsel, pl. pāþes, wāter, &c.

4. From OE. ea, of whatever origin (§ 59), as āle (OE. ealu) *ale*, bāle (OE. bealu) *bale*, *evil*, and similarly cok-chāfer, māre *mare*, schāde, schāken, &c.

Note.—1. In both native and Fr. loan-words (§§ 195, 216) the ā became fronted to ǣ (= ę̄) in the fifteenth century, although the a was mostly retained in writing, see *ENE. Gr.* § 69.

2. For māken, tāken the northern and north Midland dialects had mak, tak through early loss of the final -en, and these forms are still preserved in the modern dialects of this area. The pret. and pp. māde, mād (maad) for older mākede, māked arose from the loss of intervocalic k. From the new pret. and pp. was then formed a new present mā(n), after the analogy of which was formed a new present tā(n) for tāken. These presents are also still preserved in the modern north Midland dialects.

3. hăven, hăvest, hăveþ (haþ) beside bihāven are the unstressed forms.

ę̄

§ 80. 1. From OE. e, as bę̄ren (OE. beran) *to bear*, mę̄te (OE. mete) *meat*, stę̄len (OE. stelan) *to steal*, and similarly

bę̄re *bear*, brę̄ken, ę̄ten, ę̄ven *even*, knę̄den, mę̄te *meat*, pę̄re *pear*, spę̄ken, spę̄re *spear*, swę̄ren, tę̄ren, trę̄den, wę̄ren *to wear*, wę̄ven. gę̄ten (ON. geta), lę̄ken (ON. leka) *to leak*. See §§ 11, 63 note.

2. From OE. eo, of whatever origin (§ 60), as bę̄ver (OE. beofor) *beaver*, mę̄de (OE. meodu) *mead* (*drink*), and similarly mę̄le, smę̄re *ointment*, tę̄re *tar*, &c. See § 63 note.

Note.—For brę̄ken, gę̄ten, lę̄ken the northern and north Midland dialects had brek, get, lek through early loss of the final -en, and these forms are still preserved in the modern dialects of this area. For early west Midland and Southern forms like bōre *bear*, ōten *to eat*, stōlen *to steal*, mōle *meal*, cp. § 60.

ǭ

§ 81. The ǭ from OE. o was very often written oo from the fourteenth century onwards, as flǭten flǫǫten (OE. flotian) *to float*, þǭlen (OE. þolian) *to bear, suffer*, þrǭte (OE. þrote) *throat*, and similarly fǭle *foal*, hǭpen, nǭse, ǭpen, ǫver, rǭse, smǭke. Pp. bǭren (OE. boren), and similarly brǭken, forlǭren, stǭlen, swǭren *sworn*. cǭle (OE. col, gen. coles) with the vowel of the inflected form levelled out into the uninflected, and similarly hǭle (OE. hol), see § 103.

§ 82. Lengthening also took place in dissyllables with two consonants belonging to the second syllable, as nāvle, also written nāvele (OE. nafola) *navel*, wāvren, also written wāveren (ON. vafra) *to waver*; gen. ȝę̄stes beside nom. ȝest, from which was formed a new nom. ȝę̄st *yeast*, cp. § 97.

§ 83. Just as long vowels were shortened before single consonants in trisyllabic forms, so also short vowels remained unlengthened before a single consonant in trisyllabic forms, see § 87. Examples are: feþere beside early ME. feþer (OE. feþer) *feather*, gaderen (OE. gaderian) *to gather*, and similarly berie *berry*, scateren, stameren, þe latere

(NE. **latter**) beside **lāter** (NE. **later**), &c. **bǭdi** (OE. **bodig**) *body*, beside pl. **bŏdies** from which a new singular **bŏdi** was formed ; **māni** (OE. **manig**) beside early ME. pl. **manie** (OE. **manige**) from which a new singular **mani** was formed, and similarly with a large number of other words, as **peni, popi; disi** *foolish*, **bisi** *busy*, **hevi, stedi**, &c.

NOTE.—Beside the accented form **mani** there was also an unaccented form **moni** which was very common, especially in the northern dialects, and which has been preserved in a large number of dialects down to the present day, see *ED. Gr.* p. 521.

2. i, u

§ 84. The result of the lengthening of **i, u** to **ē̩, ō̩** through the intermediate stage **ī, ū** was entirely different from that of **a, e, o** to **ā, ē̩, ō̩**. In the latter case there was only a change in quantity, but in the former case there was a change both in quantity and quality of the vowels. This change of **i, u** to **ē̩, ō̩** took place in the dialects north of the Humber and in parts of the north Midland dialects in the latter half of the thirteenth century, and in the East Anglian dialects about a century later. In the Scottish dialects the **ē̩, ō̩** were later written **ei, oi** (**ui**), see § 10.

§ 85. In dealing with the lengthening of **i, u** to **ē̩, ō̩** it is necessary to distinguish two types of words :—

1. Old dissyllabic forms which lost their final **-e** before lengthening in open syllables took place, so that in this type lengthening only took place in the inflected forms, as **wik** (OE. **wice**) *week* : pl. **wē̩kes, sun** (OE. **sunu**) *son* : pl. **sō̩nes**, from which new singulars were often made, as **wē̩k, dō̩r, sō̩n**, &c.

2. Old uninflected dissyllabic forms which became trisyllabic when inflected or had suffixes, as **ē̩vel** (OE. **yfel, ifel**) *evil* : gen. **iveles, sē̩ker** (OE. **sicor**) *secure* : **sikerli, sō̩mer** (OE. **sumor**) *summer* : pl. **sumeres**, from which new

uninflected forms were often made, as **bisi** *busy*, **mikel, widow**; **sumer, þun(d)er**, &c.

Other examples of type 1 are: northern **gif** : **gēves** *he gives*, **lif** : **lēves** *he lives*; **schip, smiþ, wik** : pl. **schēpes, smēþes, wēkes**; **cum** : **cōmes** *he comes*; **dur** *door*, **wud** *wood* : pl. **dōres, wōdes**; and of type 2 : northern **bēsi** *busy* : **bisiness, mēkel** : **mikelness, wēdow** : pl. **widowes**. East Anglian **clēpe(n)** *to call*, **lōve(n)** *to love*; northern and East Anglian **bētel** *beetle*, **crēpel** *cripple*, **wēvel** *weevil*, &c. The past participles of strong verbs belonging to class I (§ 396) also regularly had **ē**, as **drēven** *driven*, **rēsen** *risen*, **wrēten** *written*, but they generally came to have **i** through new formations. Already in late OE. the past participles with **·t·** often had **·tt·** beside **·t·**, as **bitten, written** beside **biten, writen**, which gradually gained the upper hand, and then the **·i·** in this type of verb was extended analogically to the other verbs, as **driven, riden, risen**, &c.

Note.—The **ō** which arose from **u** became **ū** in the northern dialects at the same time as old **ō** became **ū** about 1300, see § 55.

(3) The Shortening of Long Vowels.

§ 86. Long vowels and long diphthongs were shortened before certain consonant combinations during the OE. period and especially in late OE. :—(*a*) Before combinations of three consonants, as pl. **bremblas** beside sing. **brēm(b)el** *bramble*. (*b*) Before two consonants in trisyllabic and polysyllabic forms, as **enlefan** from older ***ænlefan** *eleven*, **hlammæsse** beside older **hlāfmæsse** *Lammas*, **samcucu** (from ***sāmi-**, older ***sæmi-**) *half dead*, gen. **twentiges** : nom. **twēntig** *twenty*, **blissian** beside older **blīþsian** *to rejoice*, pl. **deorlingas** : **dēorling** *darling*. (*c*) Before double consonants + **r**, as gen. **attres** beside nom. **ātor**, whence new nom. **attor** beside **ātor** *poison*; **blæddre,**

næddre beside older **blǣdre** *bladder*, **nǣdre** *adder*, comp. **hwittra** : **hwīt** *white*, gen. **foddres** beside nom. **fōdor**, whence new nom. **foddor** beside **fōdor** *fodder*, comp. **deoppra** : **dēop** *deep*, see *EOE. Gr.* § 146. (*d*) Before double consonants, as acc. **ænne, enne** beside older **ǣnne** *one*, **þrittig** beside older **þrītig** *thirty* ; **wimman** beside older **wīfman** *woman*. (*e*) In trisyllabic forms before single consonants, as **haligdōm** : **hālig** *holy*, pl. **ænige, -u** : sing. **ǣnig** *any*, pl. **cicenu** : sing. **cīcen** *chicken*, whence new singular **cicen, suþerne** : **sūþ** *south*, pl. **heafodu** : **hēafod** *head*. (*f*) And in late OE. and early ME. long vowels began to be shortened before the consonant combinations which caused lengthening in early OE., see § 68.

§ 87. In the following treatment of the shortening of long vowels, we shall, as a rule, not distinguish between shortenings which took place in OE. and those which only took place in ME. So far, then, as ME. is concerned it may be said that all long vowels, whether original long vowels or long vowels which arose from old long diphthongs, were shortened in late OE. and early ME. before double consonants and before all consonant combinations other than those which caused the lengthening of short vowels (§ 68). Long vowels were also shortened before single consonants in trisyllabic forms of which many arose in ME. from the development of svarabhakti vowels, as in **brē̆þeren** from older **brēþren** (§ 152, 1), or were new formations made from the uninflected forms, as in the pl. **wē̆penes** for older **wēpnes** formed from the sing. **wēpen** *weapon*. This kind of shortening took place in the thirteenth century, as Orm still preserved the long vowels in this position. And just as long vowels were shortened in words of this type, so also short vowels remained unlengthened before single consonants in trisyllabic forms (§ 83).

§ 88. Before dealing with the shortening of the various separate long vowels before consonant combinations we will

deal with the shortening in trisyllabic forms, as **clavere** beside **clǭver** (OE. **clāfre**) *clover*, see § 51; **laverke** later **larke** (OE. **lāwerce**) *lark*; **erende** beside older **ęrende** (OE. **ærende**) *errand*, and similarly **evere** (§ 152, 1), pl. **heringes, nevere, redili** beside **rędi, selinesse** beside **sęli, sęli** *happy*, pl. **wepenes** from older **wępenes** *weapons*; pl. **stirǭpes** (OE. **stīrāpas**) *stirrups*; **breþeren** from older **bręderen**; **slumeren** : OE. **slūma** *slumber*. From the trisyllabic were often made new disyllabic forms with short vowel, as **hering, redi, wepen**, &c., beside **hęring, rędi, wępen**, &c.

§ 89. In dealing with the shortening of long vowels before consonant groups it is necessary to take into consideration the question of chronology. When **æ** was shortened in OE. it became **æ** and then **a** in ME. (§ 43), but when ME. **ę** from OE. **æ** was shortened in ME. it became **e**, whence we have forms side by side in ME. with **a** and **e**. And similarly when **ēa** was shortened in OE. it became **ea** and then **a** in ME. (§ 59), but when ME. **ę** from OE. **ēa** (§ 63) was shortened in ME. it became **e**, whence we have forms side by side in ME. with **a** and **e**. When **ēo** was shortened in OE. it became **eo** and then **e** in ME. (§ 60), and when ME. **ę** from OE. **ēo** (§ 65) was shortened in ME. it became **e**, so that in this case the result was the same.

§ 90. **ā** became **a**, as **axen, asken** (OE. **āxian, āscian**) *to ask*, pp. **clad** from ***clādd** (OE. **clāþod**) *clothed*, **hatte** (OE. **hātte**) *is* or *was called*, **halwen** (OE. **hālgian**) *to hallow*, **halwes** (OE. **þā hālgan**) *Hallows*, **lammasse** (OE. **hlāfmæsse**) *Lammas*. In comparatives like **bradder** : **brād, brǭd**, beside the new formation **brǭder**; **hatter** : **hāt, hǭt** beside the new formation **hǭter** later **hotter**, see § 51.

§ 91. **æ** became **a, e**. It should be remembered that late OE. **æ** is of threefold origin, viz. Germanic **æ** (§ 52), the **i**-umlaut of **ā** (§ 52), and late OE. **æ** from older **ēa** (§ 63). Germanic **æ** became **ę** in Anglian and Kentish in early OE., so that the shortening in these dialects is always **e**, whether

it took place in OE. or ME. ǣ the i-umlaut of ā became ę̄ in early Kentish (§ 52), so that the shortening is always e in this dialect. In all the dialects we have a or e from late OE. ǣ (= early OE. ēa) according as the shortening took place in OE. or ME. Examples are:—

1. bladder, bledder (late OE. blæddre older blǣdre) *bladder*, pret. dradde, dredde, pp. drad, dred *dreaded*, and similarly ampti, em(p)ti *empty*, medwe (OE. inflected form mǣdwe) beside mę̄de (OE. mǣd) *meadow*, nadder, nedder *adder*, pret. radde, redde *he read*, pret. slepte, wrastlen, wrestlen *to wrestle*.

2. clansen, clensen (OE. clǣnsian) *to cleanse*, fat, fet (OE. fǣtt) *fat*, and similarly clanli, clenli *cleanly*, helþe *health*, laddre, leddre *ladder*, lafdi, lefdi *lady*, pret. lafte, lefte *he left*, lasse, lesse *less*, lasten, lesten *to follow*, wraþþe, wreþþe *wrath*; pret. ladde, ledde (OE. lædde older lǣdde), pp. lad, led *led*, and similarly cladde, cledde, clad, cled; pret. lente, pp. lent (OE. lǣned) *lent*; spradde spredde, sprad, spred; swatte, swette *sweated*; ę̄ni (OE. ǣnig) *any* beside ME. pl. anie, enie from which was formed a new singular ani, eni (cp. § 83).

3. biraft, bireft : birę̄ven (OE. berēafian) *to deprive, rob*, chapman, chepman (OE. cēapman), and similarly grattre, grettre *greater*, laþer (OE. lēaþor, gen. lēaþres) *lather*, schepherde, þratte, þrette *he threatened*.

§ 92. Late OE. ę̄, of whatever origin, became e:—

1. ę̄ = i-umlaut of ō, as pret. bledde (OE. bledde, older blēdde) *he bled*, and similarly fedde, grette *he greeted*, kepte, mette; demde, forms like dę̄mde, wę̄nde *he hoped* were ME. new formations from the present; blessen, breþeren. twenti, ten (Orm tenn) is a back-formation from forms like tenþe, tenfō̧ld.

2. ę̄ = OE. ēo (§ 65), as devel (OE. dēofol, gen. dēofles) *devil*, lemman (OE. lēofmann) *sweetheart*, and similarly deppre *deeper*, ferþing, frendschipe, whence the back-

formation frend beside frẹ̄nd (§ 73), seknesse, stepfader; pret. fell (OE. fēoll) *he fell*, and similarly crepte, lepte.

3. Non-WS. ēo (īo) = early WS. īe, as derling (OE. dēorling, dīerling) *darling*, and similarly depþe *depth*, derre *dearer*, þefte.

4. ON. ē, as felaȝe, felawe (O.Icel. fēlage) *fellow*.

5. OE. i-umlaut of ēa, as grettre (OE. grīetra) *greater*.

§ 93. ī became i, as children, childre : chīld, fifte (OE. fīfta) *fifth*, and similarly Cristmesse, cristnen, fifti, liȝt light *a light*, liȝt light *light*, litel, lütel (OE. lītel, lȳtel, gen. lītles, lȳtles), whence the ME. new formation litel, lütel *little*, stiffer, whence the new formation stif (OE. stīf) *stiff*, wimman, wisdọ̄m.

§ 94. ọ̄ became o, as fodder (OE. fōdor, gen. fōdres), gosling : gọ̄s, pret. schodde, pp. schod : schọ̄n *to shoe*, and similarly blostme, blosme *blossom*, bosme *bosom*, softe. For the late OE. combination oht from older ōht see § 113, 5.

§ 95. ū became u, as dust (OE. dūst) *dust*, husbonde : hūs (hous), rust (OE. rūst) (see § 97), þursdai (OE. þūres-dæg) O.Icel. þōrs-dagr *Thursday*, þuȝte (OE. þuhte, older þūhte) *it seemed*, udder (OE. ūder, gen. ūdres).

§ 96. Late OE. ī, ē, ū from early OE. ȳ (§ 57) were regularly shortened to i, e, ü (written u), as fist, vest, füst (early OE. fȳst), and similarly filþe, þimel (early OE. þȳmel, gen. þȳmles) *thimble*, wischen; pret. hidde, hedde, hüdde (early OE. hȳdde), pp. hid, hed, hüd (early OE. hȳded) *hid*, and similarly kidde, pp. kid *made known*.

§ 97. Long vowels were regularly shortened in closed syllables before such combinations as -sch, -st, but remained long in open syllables through the consonant combinations belonging to the second syllable. This gave rise to double forms in ME. according as the vowel of the uninflected forms was levelled out into the inflected forms or as the vowel of the inflected forms was levelled out into the un-

inflected forms. Regular forms were: **flesch** (OE. flǣsc), gen. **flę̄sches**; **brest** (OE. brēost), gen. **brę̄stes**, whence **flesch, brest** beside **flę̄sch, brę̄st**. At a later period one or other of the forms became generalized. Examples of the former are: **blast** (OE. blǣst) *blast*, **brest** (OE. brēost), **dust** (OE. dūst), **rust** (OE. rūst), **fist, vest, füst** (early OE. **fȳst**), **flesch** (OE. flǣsc), **mesch** (OE. mǣsce), **wisch, wesch, wüsch** (early OE. **wȳsc**). Examples of the latter are: **gāst, gǭst** (OE. gāst) *ghost*, **Crīst, ę̄st** (OE. ēast) *east*, **prę̄st** (OE. prēost) *priest*. For forms like **brust** *breast*, **prust** *priest* in the west Midland and Southern dialects, see §§ 60, 65.

§ 98. From numerous examples given in the previous paragraphs it will be seen that long vowels were regularly shortened in derivatives and compounds when the stem-syllable was followed by one or more syllables with a strong secondary accent, as in **alderman** : **ǭld**, older **āld**, **chapman** : OE. **cēap, Cristmesse** : **Crīst, frendli, frendschipe** : **frę̄nd, halidai** : OE. **hālig** *holy*, **lavedi, lafdi** (Orm **laffdig**) : OE. **hlǣfdige** *lady*, **wildernesse** : **wīlde, wisdǭm** : **wīs**, &c. This rule was, however, very often broken through new formations made from the simplex, as **frę̄ndli, kīndnesse, wīsli**, &c. Cp. § 75.

§ 99. Through causes which have never been satisfactorily explained a few ME. words have **i** beside **e** for the shortening of **ē, ę̄**, as **briþeren** beside **breþeren**, pret. **fil** beside **fel** (OE. fēoll) *he fell*, **gritte** beside **grette** *he greeted* (§ 425), **hild** beside older **hę̄ld** *he held* (§ 414), **kipte** beside **kepte** (§ 424), **þifte** beside **þefte** (§ 92, 3), **hipbrembles** beside **hepbrembles** (OE. hēopbremblas) *dog-roses*, from which were formed the simplex **hipe** beside **hepe** (mod. dialects **ep**), **hę̄pe** *hip*, and similarly **siknesse** beside **seknesse** (OE. sēocnes), whence **sik** beside **sek, sę̄k, silinesse** beside **selinesse** (OE. gesǣlignes), whence **sili** beside **seli, sę̄li, sę̄li**.

§ 100. Through causes which have never been clearly defined there was a tendency from about the beginning of the thirteenth century onwards in some dialects to shorten long vowels before a single consonant in monosyllables. And this kind of shortening became quite common in the fifteenth century. It is possible that the shortening started out from such monosyllables being used in the sentence before other words beginning with a consonant, and that then the shortened forms came to be used in other positions. Examples from the *Ormulum* are: dæþþ (OE. dēaþ) beside dæþ *death*, pret. drohh (OE. drōh) beside drōh *he drew*, comm (OE. c(w)ōm) *he came*, toþþ (OE. tōþ) *tooth*, watt (OE. wāt) beside wāt *he knows*, &c.; and from other ME. texts: bred *bread*, ded *dead*, fott *foot*, godd *good*, hedd *head*, þeff *thief*, &c. Forms like grat, gret (OE. grēat) *great*, hat *hot*, stif (OE. stīf), swet *sweet* were new formations from the comparative gratter, gretter, &c.

§ 101. Long vowels were also shortened in unaccented forms, as an (OE. ān) *one, an*, but beside būt (OE. būtan) *except*, nat, not (OE. nāwiht, nōwiht, nāht, nōht) *nothing, not*, scholde (Orm shollde, sollde) beside schǭlde *should*, us (Orm uss) beside ūs, Orm þehh (OE. þēah) beside þohh (ON. *þōh) *though*, wham, whom beside whǭm (OE. hwām) *whom*, wolde (Orm wollde) beside wǭlde *would*; and similarly with personal pronouns like mĕ, wĕ, þŭ, ȝĕ, hĕ.

(4) Variable Vowel Length in Stem-syllables.

§ 102. In ME. dissyllabic nouns and adjectives ending in -el, -em, -en, -er the vowel in the second syllable belonged originally to the uninflected forms only, see *EOE. Gr.* § 96. But already in OE. the vowel in the uninflected forms was generally levelled out into the inflected forms when the stem-syllable was short, as nom. sing. æcer, cradol, efen, gen. æceres, cradoles, efenes beside ælres, cradles, efnes.

And so also in ME. we have side by side forms with and without the medial vowel, as **akeres, cradeles, evenes** beside **akres, cradles, evnes.** ME. short vowels in open stem-syllables regularly remained short in trisyllabic forms (§ 83), so that lengthening of the stem-vowel took place regularly in the uninflected forms only, but regularly remained short in the inflected forms. Then one of two things happened: Either the long vowel of the uninflected forms was levelled out into the inflected forms or the short vowel of the inflected forms was levelled out into the uninflected forms. This often gave rise to double forms in ME. itself, as **crādel, wāter, ēven, ōpen** beside **cradel, water, even, open,** and similarly **fāder** beside **fader** from the inflected forms **faderes, fadres.** During the ME. period one or other of the doublets usually became generalized. And this difference in the stem-vowel of words of this type is reflected in standard NE. down to the present day, cp. **acre, brazen, cockchafer, cradle, hazel, ladle, maple, raven, staple, taper; beaver** (ME. **bēver** beside **bever**), **besom, evil, even, weasel; open;** beside **fathom, hammer, madder, saddle, shackle, swaddle, wattle; eleven, heaven, kettle, leather, nettle, seven, weather; bottom, copper, hovel, otter.** The modern dialects have often preserved the forms which have not survived in the standard language, as **brăzen, stăple, ĕven, ŏpen.**

The past participles of strong verbs, just like dissyllabic nouns and adjectives ending in **-en,** had double forms in ME., as **tāken, trēden, gēten, brōken, stōlen** beside **tăken, trĕden, gĕten, brŏken, stŏlen** (**stŏln**). At a later period one or other of the forms became generalized, e. g. stems ending in **-r, -d, -t** generally had the short vowel, as **bŏren** (**bŏrn**), **gĕten, sŏden,** and the others generally had the long vowel, as **tāken, brōken, stōlen,** &c., which more or less agrees with the development in the NE. standard language. On the other hand the modern dialects, especially the

northern and north Midland, have usually generalized the forms with short vowels, as **tăken, ĕten, brŏken, chŏzen, spŏken, trŏden,** &c.

§ 103. OE. monosyllabic nouns and adjectives containing an **æ** (**a**), **e**, or **o** in the stem-syllable gave rise to double forms in ME. according as the vowel of the inflected forms was levelled out into the uninflected forms, or as the vowel of the uninflected forms was levelled out into the inflected forms. Examples of such double forms are:—**bāre** beside **bar** (OE. **bær**, gen. **bares**) *bare*, **lāte** beside **lat** (OE. **læt**, gen. **lates**) *late*, and similarly **cǭle** beside **col** (OE. **col**, gen. **coles**) *coal*, **smāle** beside **smal**, **whāle** beside **whal**, &c. During the ME. period one or other of these forms became generalized. Examples of the former kind of levelling are: **bāre, dāle, gāte, grāve, lāte, smāle, tāme, whāle**; **cǭle, hǭle** *hole*, **ȝǭke** beside Orm's **ȝocc**. And examples of the latter kind of levelling are: **bak, baþ, blak, bras, glad, glas, gras, paþ, staf**; **broþ, God, lok,** &c.

(5) The Formation of New Diphthongs in ME.

§ 104. One of the great characteristic differences between OE. and ME. is the monophthongization of the typical OE. diphthongs in ME. (§ 58), and the development of a large number of diphthongs of an entirely different type, the second element of which contained an **i** (**y**) or **u** (**w**). Although late OE. had a small number of such diphthongs, e. g. **dæi** (Ken. **dei**) *day*, Ken. **meiden** beside older **megden** *maiden*, **mæw, mēu** *seagull*, gen. **sāwle, sāule** beside **sāwol** *soul*, cp. *EOE. Gr.* § 79, the number became greatly increased through sound-changes which took place in early ME., especially the vocalization of intervocalic palatal and guttural **ȝ**, and the development of glides between a vowel and a following palatal and guttural **h** (= χ), written **h, ȝ** or **gh** in ME.

In OE. the ·i (y) and ·u (w) type of diphthong only occurred finally and before consonants, and this must also have been the case in the earliest ME. period, but already in early ME. diphthongs seem to have arisen before a following vowel through a change of syllabic division in the combination vowel + ȝ (= i-consonant) or w + vowel whereby the ȝ or w was transferred from the second to the first syllable. When the first element was originally long it became shortened at the time the diphthong was formed. When such diphthongs are marked as long in ME. grammars the sign of length merely indicates that the first element was long before the formation of the diphthongs. It was very common, especially finally and before n, to write y for the second element of i-diphthongs and w for the second element of u-diphthongs. The new diphthongs which arose in ME. were all falling diphthongs. On the other hand the Kentish diphthongs of the ME. period which arose from the OE. falling diphthongs ēa, īo (ēo) were rising diphthongs, see §§ **63, 67.**

§ **105.** The formation of new diphthongs in ME. was mainly due to the following causes:—

1. Intervocalic and final postvocalic w combined with the preceding vowel to form a diphthong of the u-type in the first half of the twelfth century.

2. The vocalization of palatal and guttural ȝ to i- and u-consonant respectively. In the former case the i-consonant combined with the preceding vowel to form a diphthong of the i-type, and in the latter case a diphthong of the u-type was formed. The vocalization of palatal ȝ to i-consonant took place already in late OE. after palatal vowels finally and before consonants, and in early ME. also medially between vowels. The medial guttural ȝ began to become w after back vowels before the end of the twelfth century and then later it combined with the preceding vowel to form a diphthong of the u-type.

3. A great many of the ME. diphthongs arose from the development of a glide between a vowel and a following palatal and guttural h (= χ) in the thirteenth century. In the former case the glide eventually became i-consonant, and in the latter u-consonant which combined with the preceding vowel to form diphthongs of the i- and u-type.

The new diphthongs which arose in the native element of the language in the early ME. period were:—**ai, ei, au, ęu, ęu, ǫu, ǫu, iu.** Through sound-changes which took place during the ME. period the number of diphthongs became somewhat reduced. The **ei**, of whatever origin, generally became **ai** about 1300 and thus fell together with old **ai**, although the **ei** was often retained in writing until a much later date. **ęu** and **iu** fell together in **iu** about the end of the thirteenth century. In some dialects, e. g. Chaucer's, **ǫu** and **ǫu** fell together in **ǫu** in the early fourteenth century, but they did not fall together in all the dialects as is proved by their being still kept apart in many of the modern dialects, see *ED. Gr.* §§ 127–8, 166–8. To the above list of diphthongs may be added the **ǫi, ui** in French loan-words (§§ **206, 207**).

ai

§ **106.** OE. æ + palatal g (= ȝ) became **æi** partly in late OE. and partly in early ME., and then the **æi** became **ai** (§ **43**), also written **ay**, as **mai may** (OE. **mæg**) *he may*, **fai(e)r** (OE. **fæger**) *fair*, **hail** (OE. **hægl**) *hail*, **main** (OE. **mægen**) *power*, **saide** (OE. **sægde**) *he said*, and similarly **brain, dai** (gen. sing. and the new nom. pl. **daies dayes** formed direct from the singular), **fain**, pret. **lai, maiden, nail, snail, tail**; pp. **said, slain.**

Note.—In some parts of the North, Midlands, and the South **a** became **ai** before **sch** in the thirteenth century, as **aische** (OE. **æsce, asce**) *ashes*, **waischen** (OE. **wascan**) *to wash*, and the **ai** is

still preserved in some of the north Midland and south-western dialects down to the present day (*ED. Gr.* § 27).

ei

§ 107. Early ME. **ei**, also written **ey**, was of various origins, and in most cases it became **ai**, also written **ay**, about 1300.

1. From OE. **e** + palatal **g** (= ȝ), as **wei** (OE. **weg**) *way*, pp. **leȝen leiȝen lei(e)n ley(e)n** (OE. **legen**) *lain*, **pleȝen pleiȝen pleien** (OE. **plegian**) *to play*, and similarly **eie** *awe*, **rein** beside Southern **rēn** (WS. **rēn**), **seil** *sail*, pp. **sei(e)n sey(e)n** (Anglian **gesegen**) *seen*, **weien** *to weigh*; **leiest, leiþ**, pret. **leide** beside Southern **lēde** (WS. **lēde**), pp. **leid** *laid*. The ME. northern and Midland infinitives **leyen** (**lei, lai**) and **seyen** (**seyn, sei, sai**) beside the southern regular forms **leggen, seggen** were new formations made from the second and third persons singular **leyest, leiþ** and **seyest, seiþ**, and similarly the first pers. singular, the regular forms of which would be **legge** (OE. **lecge**), **segge** (OE. **secge**).

2. From Ken. **e** + palatal ȝ = WS. **æ** + palatal ȝ (§ 43), as **dei** *day*, **lei** *he lay*, **meiden, seide** *he said*.

3. From Ken. **e** + palatal ȝ = WS. **y** + palatal ȝ (§ 49), as **reie** (Ken. **rege**, WS. **ryge**) *rye*, and similarly **beien beyen** *to buy* (see **leyen** above).

4. From late OE. **e** (= early WS. **ea**) + **h** or **ht** (§ 28), as **eiȝte eighte** (early WS. **eahta**) *eight*, and similarly **feight** *he fought*, **leighter** *laughter*, pret. **seiȝ seigh** (Chaucer also **say**) *he saw*, **streight** *straight*.

5. From OE. **ǣ** or **ēa** + palatal **g** (= ȝ), as **clei cley** (OE. **clǣg**) *clay*, **neien** (OE. **hnǣgan**) *to neigh*; **dreiȝ** *he endured*, and similarly **ei ey** *egg*, **eiþer** *either*, **grei, kei key** *key*, pret. pl. **leien** *they lay*, **seien** (OE. **sǣgon**) *they saw*, **weie** *weighing-machine*, **whei whey**, cp. § 35.

6. Late OE. **ę̄**, of whatever origin, + **g** (= ȝ) or **h** (written **h, ȝ, gh** in ME.) had various developments in ME. which

were due partly to the position of the ȝ and **h** in the word, partly to difference of dialect, and partly to new formations through levelling out in different directions:—

When the ę̄ȝ stood before a following vowel at the time of the formation of diphthongs it generally became **ei** in the North and Midlands, but ī, mostly written **y**, through the intermediate stage īȝ in some parts of the Midlands, especially the south Midlands including the dialect of Chaucer, and the South, but the modern dialects show that the ī did not occur in the north Midlands, otherwise it would have become **ai** whereas they have ī from older ę̄ in words of this type. Examples are:—M. **deien**, S. **dīen dȳen** (late OE. **dēgian**) *to dye*; **eie, ȳe** (late OE. **ēge**, § 35) *eye*; **fleien, flȳen** (late OE. **flēgan**) *to fly*, and similarly **deien, dȳen** *to die*; **dreie, drȳe** *tedious, dree*; **fleie, flȳe** *fly*; **leien, lȳen** *to tell lies*; pret. pl. **seien, sȳen** *they saw*, from which was formed a new sing. **sȳ** beside the regular form **seih, seiȝ** (late OE. **seh**); **teien, tȳen** *to tie*; **wreien** (cp. NE. **be-wray**), **wrȳen** *to accuse*. Cp. § 118.

Note.—In some parts of the North, Midlands, and the South **e**, of whatever origin, became **ei** before **sch** in the thirteenth century, as **fleisch** *flesh* (cp. § 97), **freisch** *fresh*, **neisch** *tender*, **þreischen** *to thresh*, which has been preserved in some dialects down to the present day, see Index to *ED. Gr.*

§ 108. In the northern and north Midland dialects the ę̄ȝ in the above and similar forms had come to stand finally through early loss of the following syllable. These dialects accordingly had ę̄ȝ (= ę̄χ, generally written **ęgh**), and later ę̄ with loss of the **gh** in pronunciation in the first half of the fourteenth century, as **dęgh** *to dye*, **ęgh** *eye*, **flęgh** *to fly*, **lęgh** *he lied*, later **dę, ę, flę, lę** which have regularly become **dī, ī, flī, līd** in the modern dialects of this area. But when the following vowel was preserved these dialects also had **ei**, like the Midland, as **eien eies** *eyes*, **fleies** *he flies*, **leies** *he tells lies*,

&c. And then new formations often took place through levelling out in different directions, as **flei** formed from **fleies**, and **flēghes** formed from **flēgh**; &c.

§ 109. Medially before consonants and finally late OE. ēh (cp. §§ 35, 36) generally became **eih**, mostly written **eigh**, in the dialects south of the Humber, and then later **īgh** in some of the southern dialects. When the **ei** came to stand before vowels through the addition of inflexional endings it became **ī**. Regular forms were e.g. **heigh** (mod. n. Midl. dialects **ei**) *high* beside pl. **hīe**, and then through levelling out in both directions either the **ei-** or the **ī-**form, usually the latter, became generalized, as in Chaucer **hīgh hȳ** beside **heigh**, **nīgh nȳ** beside **neigh** (mod. n. Midl. dialects **nei**) *nigh, near*, and similarly **slīgh slȳe slȳ** beside **sleigh** (ON. **slœgr**), **þīgh** beside **þeigh, heighte** (mod. n. Midl. dialects **eit**) beside **hīȝte hīghte** due to the influence of **hīgh**.

In the northern and some of the north Midland dialects the **ēh** (generally written **ēgh**) remained in the above and similar forms, as **þēh þēgh** (mod. dialects **þī**) *thigh*.

au

§ 110. ME. **au**, also written **aw**, was of various origins:—

1. From OE. antevocalic **a** + **w** or **f** (= v), as **awel aul awl** (OE. **awul, awel**) *awl*, **clawe clau claw** (late OE. **clawu** beside the regular nom. **clēa**), **strau straw**, formed from the OE. inflected forms like gen. **strawes**, and similarly **rau raw**; **þawen** (OE. **þawian**) *to thaw*; **hawek** later **hauk** (OE. **hafoc**), **nauger** (OE. **nafogār**) *auger*.

2. From OE. **ā** + **w** in the dialects north of the Humber, as **blawe blau** (OE. **blāwan**) *to blow*, **snau** (OE. **snāw**) *snow*, **auþer** (OE. **āwþer**) *either*, and similarly **crawe crau** *to crow*, **knawe knau** *to know*, **saule** *soul*, **slau** *slow*. See § 113, 1.

3. From OE. **a** + guttural **g** (= ȝ), as **drawen** (OE. **dragan**) *to draw*, pl. **dawes** (OE. **dagas**) beside **daies**, formed from

the sing. **dai** *day*, **hawe** (OE. **hagu**) *haw*, and similarly **gnawen**, **lawe** *law*, **mawe** *stomach*, **sawe** *a saw*, pp. **slawen** from OE. **slagen** beside **slain** from **slægen**.

4. From OE. **ā** + guttural **g** (= ȝ) in the dialects north of the Humber, as **āȝen** **awe** (OE. **āgan**) *to possess*, **awen** **auen** **aun** (OE. **āgen**) *own*, **sawen** (OE. **sāwon**) *they saw* from which was formed the singular **saw**, **þrawe** (OE. **þrāg**) *space of time*.

5. From Anglian **æ** (§ 43) = WS. **ea** before **h** and **ht**, as **saugh** (Angl. **sæh**, WS. **seah**) *he saw*, **faught** (Angl. **fæht**, WS. **feaht**) *he fought*, and similarly **aughte** *eight*, **laughter**, **maught** *might*, **naught** *night*, **straught** *straight*, **straughte** *he stretched*. But the northern dialects did not develop a glide before **h** and **ht**, as **saȝ** **sagh**, **aȝte** **aghte**, **faȝt** **faght**, **laȝter** **laghter**, **maȝt** **maght**, **naȝt** **naght**, **slaȝter** **slaghter**.

6. From late OE. **æ** (§ 43), **a**, older **ǣ**, **ā** before **ht**, as **aught** (OE. **āht**) *aught, anything*, **rauȝte** **raughte** (OE. **rǣhte**, **rāhte**) *he reached*, and similarly **tauȝte** **taughte** *he taught*, **nauȝt** **naught** *naught, nothing*.

Note.—A new **au** arose in late ME. through the development of a glide between **a** and a following l + consonant. This glide eventually became full u-consonant, and then combined with the preceding **a** to form the diphthong **au**, as **aull** *all*, **faull(e)** *to fall*, **haulf** *half*, **taulk(e)** *to talk*, see *ENE. Gr.* § 102.

ęu

§ 111. ME. **ęu**, also written **ęw**, was of various origins:—

1. From OE. **ǣ** and **ēa** (§ 63) + **w**, as **slęuþe** (OE. **slǣwþ**) *sloth*, **dęu** **dęw** (OE. **dēaw**) *dew*, **fęwe** **fęu** (OE. **fēawe**) *few*, **hęwen** **hęu** (OE. **hēawan**) *to hew*, and similarly pret. **ręu** *he rued*, **schęwen** *to show*, **þęu** **þęw** *custom*. For the falling diphthong in the above and similar words Ken. also had a rising diphthong, written **yau**, **eau** (**eaw**), as **dyau**, **sseawy** *to show*, see § 63.

2. From OE. ĕow, as ęwe (OE. eowe) *ewe*, sęwen sęu (OE. seowian) *to sew*, stręwen (OE. streow(i)an) *to strew*.

3. From OE. antevocalic e + f (= v), as ęwte older evete (OE. efete) *newt*.

Note.—In a few words the OE. ĕa became a rising diphthong eă which in ME. became ā (later ǭ § 51) by absorption of the first element. This gave rise to double forms like schǫwen beside schęwen *to show*; and similarly with eów beside éow in sǫwen, strǫwen beside sęwen, stręwen.

ęu

§ 112. The chief sources of ęu, also written ęw, are: OE. ēow (cp. § 65), and the Non-WS. ēoẇ, īow = WS. īew (§ 66). The ęu became iu about 1300 and thus fell together with iu from OE. īw (§ 116), although the eu was mostly retained in writing, but was also sometimes written iw, as briwen, &c.

1. From OE. ēow, as bręwen bręu (OE. brēowan) *to brew*, and similarly chęwen chęu *to chew*, ręwen ręu *to rew*; pret. of the old reduplicated strong verbs (§ 414), as blęu blęw (OE. blēow) *he blew*, and similarly gręu, knęu, þręu.

2. From Non-WS. īo (ēo) + w = WS. īe + w, as nęwe niwe (Non-WS. nīowe, nēowe) *new*, and similarly clęwe *clew*, hęu hęw hęwe *hue*, ręuþe *ruth*, tręwe *true*, tręwen *to trow*.

For forms like bruwen, ruwen, bluwe blwe *blew*, knuwe knwe *knew*, huwe hwe *hue*, nuwe nwe *new*, truwe trwe *true* in the southern and west Midland dialects see § 65.

Note.—1. In a few words OE. initial ēow became a rising diphthong, as ȝǫu (OE. acc. ēow) *you*, ȝǫwer ȝǫur (OE. ēower) *your*, and then later the ȝǫu- became ȝū-, although the old spelling was generally preserved.

2. In some words OE. medial éow became a rising diphthong eǫ́w which in ME. became ǫu (ǫw) by absorption of the first element. This often gave rise to double forms in ME., as chǫwen

beside **cẹwen**, and similarly **fọwer fọure** *four*, **rọwen** *to rue*, **trọwen, trọuþe** *truth*. For the later change of **ọu** to **ọu**, cp. § 114, 1, and for the further change of **ọu** to **au** in some dialects, as **fauer faur, trawþe trauþe**, see § 113 note.

ọu

§ 113. ME. **ọu**, also written **ọw**, was of various origins:—

1. ME. **ọ̄** + **w** = OE. **ā** + **w** in the dialects south of the Humber (§ 51), as **blọwen** (OE. **blāwan**) *to blow*, **snọw** (OE. **snāw**) *snow*, **sọwle sọule** (OE. **sāwol**, gen. **sāwle**) *soul*, and similarly **crọwe** *crow*, **crọwen, knọwen, mọwen, ọuþer** *either*, **nọuþer** *neither*, **slọw, rọwe** *row*, **sọwen, þrọwen.**

2. From OE. **o** + guttural **g** (= ȝ), as **bọue, bọwe** (OE. **boga**) *bow*, pp. **flọwen flọu(e)n** (OE. **flogen**) *flown*, pl. **trọwes** (OE. **trogas**) *troughs.*

3. From early ME. **ọ̄** + ȝ = OE. **ā** + guttural **g** (= ȝ) in the dialects south of the Humber (§ 51), as **ọwen** (OE. **āgan**) *to possess*, **ọwen** (OE. adj. **āgen**) *own*, **þrọwe** (OE. **þrāg**) *time, period*; **lọwe** (O. Icel. **lāgr**) *low.*

4. From OE. **o** + **h** or **ht**, as **trọuȝ trọugh** (OE. **troh, trog**) *trough*, **dọuȝter dọughter** (OE. **dohtor**) *daughter*, pp. **fọuȝten fọughten** (OE. **fohten**) *fought*, and similarly pret. **wrọughte** (but west Midland **warhte wrahte**), pp. **wrọught.**

5. From **ōht** which was shortened to **oht** during the OE. period, as **ọuȝt ọught** (OE. **ōht, oht**) *anything*, pret. **brọuȝte, brọughte** (OE. **brōhte, brohte**) *he brought*, pp. **brọuȝt brọught** (OE. **brōht, broht**), and similarly **nọught** *naught*, **sọughte, sọught**; **þọughte, þọught.**

Note.—The **ọ̄u** in 1. became **au** in some dialects, especially in the Kentish and parts of the n., nw. and w. Midland in the fourteenth century; and the **ọu** in 2. also became **au** in the nw. Midland. Examples are: **blawe(n)** *to blow*, **knawe(n)** *to know*, **saule** (Ken. **zaule**) *soul*, **snau** *snow*, **þrawe(n)** *to throw*, &c.; **bawe** *bow*, **flawe(n)** *flown*, &c. See § 114, 1.

ọu

§ 114. **ọu**, also written **ọw**, was of various origins :—

1. From OE. ō + w, as **blọwen** (OE. blōwan) *to bloom, blossom*, **flọwen** (OE. flōwan) *to flow*, and similarly **glọwen, grọwen, lọwen** *to low*, **rọwen, stọwe** *place*. In some dialects, e. g. Chaucer's dialect, the **ọu** became **ọu** in the early part of the fourteenth century, and thus fell together with the **ọu** in § 113, but they did not fall together in all the dialects as is evidenced by many of the modern dialects which still keep them apart. In the north and north-west Midlands, for example, the **ọu** has become **ọu** (**flọu, grọu**, &c.), but the **ọu** has become **ọə, ǭ** (**krọə** *crow*, **nọə** *to know*, &c.) from older **au**, see § 113 and note.

2. From OE. ō + final guttural **·h** (= ·χ) and medial guttural **·g·** (= ·ɣ·), cp. *EOE. Gr.* § 172. It is necessary to distinguish between the final and the medial position, because the development in ME. was not the same in both cases :—

(*a*) Final **·ōh** regularly became **·ọuh** (also written **·ọuȝ, ·ọugh**) which later became **·ọugh** as in 1. above, as **bọugh** (OE. bōh) *bough*, **inọugh** (OE. genōh) *enough*, **þọugh** (ON. *þōh) *though*, and similarly **drọugh** *he drew*, **lọugh** *he laughed*, **plọugh, slọugh** *he slew*, **tọugh**, &c.

(*b*) Medial antevocalic **·ōȝ-** became **ọu**, also written **·ow·**, which then became **·ū·**, although the **·ou·, ·ow·** were retained in writing through the influence of the Anglo-Norman system of orthography (§ 9), as pl. **bowes** (OE. bōgas) *boughs*, **drowen** (OE. drōgon) *they drew*, and similarly **lowen** *they laughed*, **plowes** *ploughs*, **slowen** *they slew*, &c. Cp. § 120.

(*c*) Then new uninflected forms were often made by levelling out the **ou** (**ow**) = **ū** of the inflected forms, as **bow** beside **bọugh, drou drow** beside **drọugh, inou inow** beside **inọugh, plow** beside **plọugh, slow** beside **slọugh**, &c.

§ 115. The combinations **-ōh** and **-ōȝ-** had an entirely different development in the dialects north of the Humber. Here as in the paragraph above it is also necessary to distinguish between the final and the medial position :—

(*a*) Final **-ōh**, generally written **-o̱ȝ**, **-o̱gh**, remained until about the end of the thirteenth century, and then became **-ūgh** (= ūχ), although the old spelling was mostly preserved, see § 55, as **bōgh, enōgh, plōgh, slōgh** *he slew*, &c.

(*b*) Medial **-ōȝ-** became **üu** through the intermediate stage **o̱u** (cp. § 55) and was generally written **ou** (**ow**), and then in the fifteenth century the **üu** became **iu** by the unrounding of the first element, and was generally written **ew** (cp. § 116), as pl. **bowes, enowe, plowes, slowen**, &c., later **bewes, enewe, plewes, slewen**, &c.

(*c*) Then new uninflected forms were often made by levelling out the **ew** (= **iu**) of the inflected forms, as **bew, enew, plew, slew**, beside the older forms **bōgh**, &c.

iu

§ 116. The chief source of early ME. **iu** (written **iw**) is OE. **ī + w**, as **sniwen** (OE. **snīwan**) *to snow*, **spiwen** (OE. **spīwan**) *to spew, vomit*, **stiward** (OE. **stīweard** older **stigweard**) *steward*, **Tiwesdai** (OE. **Tīwes dæg**) *Tuesday*. But after **e̱u** had become **iu** about the end of the thirteenth century (§ 112) the **iw** came to be written **ew** in the above and similar words, as **snewen, spewen, steward, Tewesdai**.

§ 117. In the southern dialects of the south-western area **ę̄, ō̱** initially and after initial **h-** became the rising diphthongs **ȝę̄, wō̱**, written **ȝe- ye-, wo-, who-**, in the latter part of the fourteenth century, as **ȝę̄r yę̄r** beside **ę̄re** *ear* in the other dialects, and similarly **ȝę̄rb yę̄rb** *herb*, **ȝę̄si yę̄si** *easy*, **ȝę̄ven yę̄ven** *even* ; **whō̱l** beside **hō̱l, hāl** *sound, whole*, in the other dialects, **wō̱ld** beside **ō̱ld, āld** *old* in the other dialects, and

similarly whǭm *home*, whǭ̄t *hot*, wǭn *one*, wǭ̄tes *oats*. And the rising diphthongs in the above and similar words have been preserved in the modern dialects of this area, see Index to *ED. Gr.*

(6) The Monophthongization of ME. Diphthongs.

§ 118. In parts of the Midlands, especially the south Midlands, and the South, early ME. antevocalic ę̄ɜ̯ became ī (mostly written **y**) through the intermediate stage ī̯ɜ̯ in the second half of the thirteenth century, see § 107, 6, as īe, ȳe (late OE. ēge older ēage) *eye*, flīen, flȳen (OE. flēogan, Anglian flēga(n)) *to fly*, dīen, dȳen (late OE. dēgian) *to dye*, and similarly dīen *to die*, sīen *they saw*, tīen *to tie*, &c.

§ 119. Final and anteconsonantal **eigh** from OE. ēh became īgh in some of the southern dialects, see § 109, as hīgh beside heigh *high*, and similarly hīghte *height*, nīgh *nigh, near*, slīgh *sly*.

§ 120. In the dialects south of the Humber ME. antevocalic ǫu from OE. ·ōɣ· became ū, written **ou, ow** (§ 9) in the second half of the thirteenth century, see § 114, 2 (*b*), as pl. bowes (OE. bōgas) *boughs*, and similarly pl. inowe *enough*, drowen *they drew*, plowes *ploughs*, slowen *they slew*, &c.

§ 121. In many Scottish dialects, e. g. Barbour's dialect, the diphthongs **ai, oi, ui** (= Anglo-Norman **ui** for older ǫi), of whatever origin, became ā, ǭ, ū in the latter part of the fourteenth century, although the **ai, oi, ui** were very often retained in writing. This led to the **i** being regarded as the sign of long vowels, and then old long vowels also came to have **i** written after them to indicate that they were long, as **mair** = mār *more*, **seik** = sę̄k *sick*, **boik buik** = bū̆k *book* (§ 55). Examples are: fār beside **fair** (OE. fæger, § 106) *fair*, hāl beside **hail** (OE. hagol) *hail*, mā beside **mai** (OE. mæg) *he may*, rāss beside **raiss** (ON. reisa) *to raise*, trātour

beside **traitour** (O.Fr. acc. **traitor**), **chǭss** beside **choiss** (O.Fr. **chois**) *choice*, **jǭ** beside **joi** (O.Fr. **joie**) *joy*, **vǭce** beside **voice**, **pūnt** beside **puint** *point*, **pūsoune** beside **puisoune** (mod. northern dialects **puizn**) *poison*.

(7) Fusion.

§ 122. Fusion arose from the merging together of OE. ĭ, y̆ (= ŭ) + palatal ȝ and ŭ + guttural ȝ after the ȝ had been vocalized to **i**- and **u**-consonant (cp. §105, 2). The fusion of ĭ + ȝ took place partly in late OE. and partly in early ME., but the fusion of y̆ + ȝ and ŭ + ȝ did not take place until the early ME. period. Examples are:—

1. OE. **i** + ȝ became **ī**, also written **ȳ**, as **nīne** (OE. **nigon**) *nine*, **līest lȳest** (OE. **ligest**) *thou licst down*, and similarly **stī** *pig-sty*, **stīle** *stile*, **tīle** *tile*.

2. OE. **ī** + ȝ became **ī**, as **stīen stȳen** (OE. **stīgan**) *to ascend*, **wī** (OE. **wīg**) *battle*, and similarly **Frīdai** *Friday*, **hīen hȳen** *to hie, hasten*; **twīes** (OE. **twĭga** + adverbial gen. ending **-es**), Orm **twigess twiggess** *twice*, and similarly **þrīes** *thrice*.

3. OE. **y** (§ 49) + ȝ became **üi**, **ī**, as **lüie, līe, lȳe** (OE. **lyge**) *a lie*, and similarly **büiest, bīest, bȳest** *thou buyest*, **rüie, rīe, rȳe** *rye*.

4. OE. **ȳ** (§ 57) + ȝ became **üi**, **ī**, as **drüie, drīe, drȳe** (OE. **drȳge**) *dry*, **büien, bīen** (OE. **bīegan**, later **bȳgan, bīgan**) *to bend*.

5. OE. **u** + ȝ became **ū**, later written **ou, ow** (§ 9), as pl. **mouen, mowen** (OE. *mugon) *they may*, **fūel, fou(e)l** (OE. **fugol**) *bird, fowl*, and similarly **ȝūþ ȝouþ** *youth*, **sow(e)** (OE. **sugu**) *sow*.

6. OE. **ū** + ȝ became **ū**, later written **ou, ow**, as **būen bouen bowen** (OE. **būgan**) *to bend, bow*, **trūen trouen trowen** (OE., Anglian **trŭgian**) *to trust*.

(8) Other Dependent Changes.

§ 123. The initial wur- in the late OE. combination wur + consonant from older wyr + consonant (*EOE. Gr.* § 63) was generally written wor- in ME., as worchen, wurchen (early OE. wyrcan) *to work*, and similarly worm, wurm; worse, wurse; wort, wurt *root*.

§ 124. The initial combination wim- became wum- (also written wom-) in early ME., as wum(m)an (OE. wimman older wīfman) *woman*, although the old writing with wim- was often retained.

§ 125. In those parts of the country where OE. y remained in early ME. (§ 49) the ü about the beginning of the thirteenth century became u (often written o, § 9) before š (= sch), tš (= ch in chin), ltš, ntš, and dž (= the j in just), as bluschen (OE. blyscan) *to blush*, crucche (OE. crycc) *crutch*, muchel later much(e) (OE. mycel) *much*, unche beside inche (OE. ynce) *inch*, cuggel (OE. cycgel) *cudgel*, and similarly rusche, þrusche, wusch *wish*; clucchen, kuchen *kitchen*, swuche later suche, whuch *which*; brugge *bridge*, rugge *ridge*.

§ 126. The ü in the above area also became u in the neighbourhood of consonants which favoured rounding, viz. after labials and sch, before r and especially between such sounds as burþen burden (OE. byrþen) *burden*, churche (OE. cyrice, cirice) *church*, gurdel (OE. gyrdel) *girdle*, schuttel (OE. scytel) *shuttle*, and similarly churn, hurdel, hurst *copse*, schutten, &c., see Luick, *Hist. Gr.* § 397.

§ 127. Before and after certain consonants e became i in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the North and some parts of the Midlands, especially the east and south-east Midlands, as briþren (mod. dialects briðə(r)z) beside breþren, and similarly brist *breast*, bristen *to burst*, ȝit *yet*, linþ(e) *length* (cp. § 263), prist *priest* (cp. § 97), rist (mod.

dialects **rist, rust**) *rest*, **strinþ(e)** *strength* (cp. § 263), **togidre** *together* (cp. § 99).

§ 128. Postconsonantal **wǫ** from OE. **wā** (§ 51) became **wǭ** in a great part of the Midlands in the thirteenth century, as **twǭ** (OE. **twā**) *two*, **whǭ** (OE. **hwā**) *who*, and similarly **swǭpen** *to sweep*, **swǭt** *sweat*, **wǭmb** (cp. § 72).

§ 129. ME. **e**, of whatever origin, became **a** before **r** belonging to the same syllable in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, although the **e** was very often retained in writing, as **marre** (OE. **merran**) *to mar*, **starte** (ON. **sterta**) *to start*, and similarly **harvest, yard** *rod, staff*; **farre** older **ferre** (OE. **feorr**) *far*, and similarly **dark, harte** *heart*, **starre** *star*, **starve** *to die*; **darling** (early OE. **dēorling**, later **deorling**), and similarly **farþing, starbord**; **parsoun** (O.Fr. **persone**) *person, parson*, and similarly **sarve** *to serve*, **sarvise, warre** *war*, &c.

§ 130. **ri** in the combination consonant + **ri** + dental became **ir** (**ur**) in the early part of the fifteenth century, as **bird burd** beside older **brid** *bird*, **birne** *to burn*, **birste** *to burst*, beside **burne, burste, Cursmas** (mod. n. dialects **kōsməs**) beside older **Cristes messe** *Christmas*, **dirt durt**, older **drit, þirde þurde**, older **þridde** (OE. **þridda**) *third*.

§ 131. During the ME. period **i** was probably lowered in closed syllables, especially before and after labials, liquids, and nasals, to a mid-mixed-narrow vowel like the **e** in German **gabe**. It was often written **e**, especially in the Midland and northern dialects, and in some dialects it became a full mid-front-wide vowel like the **e** in standard NE. **set**, as is shown by its development in the modern dialects, e.g. in the south of Scotland, n.Nhb., n.Cum., Dor. and w.Som., see *ED. Gr.* § 68. Examples are: **bigenne(n)** *to begin*, **fenger, leppis** *lips*, **reng** *ring*, **sweftli, wekked** *wicked*, **welle** *will*, **wemmen** *women*. What is written **i** often rhymes with **e** from the thirteenth century onwards, as **childre : eldre, stille : telle**, &c.

§ 132. e became i during the ME. period before **nk, ng,** palatal **ng** (= ndž) and **ntš,** as **þinken** (OE. **þencan**) *to think,* **flingen** (ON. **flengja**) *to fling,* **inglisch** (OE. **englisc**) *English,* **singen** (OE. **sengan**) *to singe,* **drinchen** beside **drenchen** (OE. **drencan**) *to drown,* and similarly **link, winge** (ON. **vǣngr**) *wing.*

§ 133. The **o** which arose from older **o̧** before **ng** (§ 74) became **u** (generally written **o,** § 9) during the ME. period in the west Midland dialects, and the **u**-sound or its further development has been regularly preserved in the modern dialects of this area, and has even spread to other areas, see *ED. Gr.* § 32. Examples are: **amonge, long, mongere** *merchant,* **song, strong, tonge** *a pair of tongs,* **þrong, wrong,** of which **amonge** and **mongere** have crept into standard NE.

CHAPTER IV

THE ME. DEVELOPMENT OF THE OE. VOWELS OF UNACCENTED SYLLABLES

1. The Weakening of Vowels in Unaccented Syllables.

§ 134. One of the characteristic differences between OE. and ME. is the weakening of the OE. vowels to **e** in unaccented syllables, and its eventual disappearance in most cases. The weakening of **a, o, u** to **e** had begun to take place in late OE., and final **-i** had already become **-e** in the seventh century. It is impossible to determine what was the precise quality of this **e**. In final syllables it must have been a kind of **ə**-sound and have varied in quality according to the nature of the surrounding sounds something like the **a** in standard NE. **china, cathedral.** This no doubt accounts for its being sometimes written **i, u.** These variations in writing were common from the end of the thirteenth century; the **u** was especially common in the

west Midland dialects and the i in the northern dialects. Examples in final syllables are :—

(*a*) When final, as sǭne (OE. sōna) *soon*, eiȝte (OE. eahta) *eight*, nom. sing. of masc. n-stems, as dogge (OE. dogga) *dog*, the ending of the gen. pl. of nouns and adjectives, as stǭne (OE. stāna), gǭdre (OE. gōdra), the comparative of adjectives, as gretter(e) (OE. grīetra) *greater*, dat. sing. of u-stems, as sune (OE. suna). Nom. sing. of wa-, wō-stems, as bāle (OE. bealu, -o) *evil*, schāde (OE. sceadu, -o) *shadow*, nom. sing. of short ō-stems, as tāle (OE. talu) *tale, number*, nom. acc. sing. of short u-stems, as sune sone (OE. sunu) *son*; OE. gearu, -o *ready*, pl. gearwe regularly became ȝare, ȝarwe, and then from the latter was formed a new singular ȝaru, and similarly buru *burrow*, holu *hollow*, naru *narrow*, schadu *shadow*, soru *sorrow*, &c., see § 241. Nom. sing. of masc. ja-stems, as ende (OE. ende), nom. acc. sing. of short i-stems, as dēne *valley*, spēre *spear* (OE. dene, spere), nom. sing. of fem. n-stems, as tunge (OE. tunge) *tongue*, nom. acc. pl. of strong adjectives, as blĭnde (OE. blinde), &c.

(*b*) In final syllables ending in a consonant, as nom. acc. pl. of masc. a-stems, as stǭnes (OE. stānas), acc. gen. dat. sing. and nom. acc. pl. of masc. and fem. n-stems, as doggen (OE. doggan), tungen (OE. tungan), the inf. of strong and weak verbs, as helpen, dēlen, māken (OE. helpan, dælan, macian), ending of the second and third pers. sing. of the present of the second class of weak verbs, as mākest, mākeþ (OE. macast, macaþ), the ending of the pres. plural of strong and weak verbs, as helpeþ, mākeþ (OE. helpaþ, maciaþ). hēved later hēd (OE. hēafod) *head*, sadel (OE. sadol), brōþer, mōder (OE. brōþor, mōdor), superlative of adjectives gladest (OE. gladost), pp. of the second class of weak verbs, as māked (OE. macod) *made*, the pret. pl. of strong and weak verbs, as bounden, mākeden (OE. bundun, -on, macodun, -on), the dat. pl. of nouns and

adjectives, **stǭnen, tungen, blĭnden** (early OE. **stānum, tungum, blindum**, late OE. **-un, -on, -an** § 259), here the ending **-en** mostly disappeared in early ME.

From the examples given in (*a*) and (*b*) it will be seen that the OE. stem-formative or inflexional endings **-a, -an, -as, -ast, -aþ; -ol, -on, -or, -ost; -u, -um** (see § 259), **-un** all became in ME. **-e, -en, -es, -est, -eþ; -el, -en, -er, -est; -e, -en.**

(*c*) In medial syllables, as gen. sing. **hevenes** (OE. **heofones**), pret. sing. **māked(e)**, pl. **māked(en)** (OE. **macode, macodun, -on**), &c.

2. The Development of ME. Svarabhakti Vowels in Final Syllables.

§ 135. In late OE. or early ME. the vocalic nasals and l developed an **e** before them and then became consonantal, as **bǭsem** (OE. **bōsm**) *bosom*, **hasel** (OE. **hæsl**) *hazel shrub*, **sweven** (OE. **swefn**) *dream*, and similarly **blossem, botem, hūsel** *Eucharist*, **setel** *seat*, **tǭken** *token*, &c.

§ 136. Final **-els** became **-eles**, as **birieles berieles bürieles** (OE. **byrgels**) *tomb*, and similarly **rę̄cheles rę̄keles** *incense*, **rę̄deles rę̄deles** *riddle*, &c.

§ 137. In late OE. and early ME. a vowel was developed between **r** and a following gutteral spirant, as ME. nom. sing. **buruȝ** (OE. **burug, buruh** beside **burg, burh**), inflected form **burǫwe** (with **w** from older **ȝ**, § 105), from which a new nom. sing. **burǫugh** was formed, and similarly **furǫugh, holǫugh** *hollow*, **marǫugh** *marrow*, **sorǫw(e)** *sorrow*, &c., cp. *EOE. Gr.* § 102.

3. The Weakening of Vowels in Syllables with a Secondary Accent.

§ 138. The vowel in suffixal and derivative syllables was generally weakened to **e** just as in the inflexional syllables, but in some suffixal and derivative syllables which had

a secondary accent the vowel was not weakened to **e**. This was especially the case with derivatives in **-dŏm**, **-ĕr(e)** (denoting *nomina agentis*), **-fast**, **-fǭld** (**-fāld**), **-ful**, **-hǭde** (**-hę̄de**), **-i** (older **-ī** = OE. **-ig**), **-ing**, **-isch**, **-lę̄s** (OE. **-lēas**), **-lĭche**, **-ling**, **-lok** (OE. **-lāc**), **-schipe**, **-sum**, **-ung**, and **-ward**. The long vowels in the above were shortened during the ME. period. Examples are:—

kinedŏm, **wisdŏm**; **bākĕre** (OE. **bæcĕre**), **drinkĕr(e)** (OE. **drincĕre**); **stę̆defast** (OE. **stedefæst**); Orm **ānfāld** (OE. **ānfeald**); **þankful** (OE. **þancfull**); **chīldhǫ̆de**, **-hę̆de** (OE. **cildhād**); **bodi**, **hǫ̆li hāli** (OE. **bodig**, **hālig**), **hę̆ring** (OE. **hæring**) *herring*, **englisch** (OE. **englisc**), **faderlę̆s**, **hǫ̆mlę̆s** (OE. **fæderlēas**, **hāmlēas**); **hevenlĭch(e)** (OE. **heofonlĭc**) *heavenly*; **schilling** (OE. **scilling**); **wedlŏk** (OE. **wedlāc**); **frendschipe** (OE. **frĕondscipe**); **langsum longsum** (OE. **langsum**) *tedious*; **chę̆pung** (OE. **cēapung**) *trading*; **afterward** (OE. **æfterward**).

The OE. ending **-ende** of the present participle became **-and(e)** in the North (probably of ON. origin, O.Icel. **-ande**), **-end(e)** in the Midlands, but **ind(e)** in the south-west Midlands, and **-ind(e)** in the South, as **helpand(e)**, **helpend(e)**, **helpind(e)** *helping*.

4. The Loss of Final -e.

§ 139. The loss of final **-e** took place at various periods and under various conditions, e.g. it ceased to be pronounced much earlier in the North than in the South, and much earlier in unaccented than in accented words, but it is only possible to fix approximate dates for its loss. This is in a great measure due to the laxity in the metrical construction of much of the ME. poetry and to the great conservatism exhibited by some of the best poets. The importance attached to metre and rhyme is sometimes exaggerated. What the student of the English language wants to know is not so much what poets like Orm, Chaucer, Barbour, &c.,

wrote in their metre, as how they actually pronounced their words in speaking. Good metre is always a valuable auxiliary aid in helping to confirm results which have been arrived at by other means, but when it is used as the chief or sole means for arriving at results, we are merely making use of what might be called letter-language instead of spoken language.

§ 140. In treating the history of final -e in ME. it is important to remember that a large number of ME. words have a final -e which did not belong to such words in OE., the e of the inflected forms having been levelled out into the uninflected forms, as bāre (OE. bær, pl. bare), brīde (OE. brȳd), chēpe (OE. cēap), cōle (OE. col, gen. coles), lōre (OE. lār), nēdle nēdle (OE. nædl, nēdl), sēke (OE. sēoc) *sick*, tīde (OE. tīd), &c., see § 103. This final -e had the same further development in ME. as in words with final -e from OE. -a, -e, -o, -u.

§ 141. The final -e disappeared or rather ceased to be pronounced earlier in dissyllabic forms with a short stem-syllable than in those with a long stem-syllable, as in bite (OE. bite) *bite, bit*, sune sone (OE. sunu), beside nēdle nēdle, tīde. In both categories of words the -e continued to be written long after it had ceased to be pronounced. In late ME. the -e in dissyllabic forms with a short stem-syllable was generally omitted in writing, as in bit, son, but in dissyllabic forms with a long stem-syllable it was generally retained in writing to indicate that the preceding vowel was long. It ceased to be pronounced earliest in the Scottish and northern dialects, later in the Midland dialects, and latest of all in the southern dialects, especially the Kentish dialect. In all the dialects it disappeared in pronunciation earlier in nouns and verbs than in adjectives, and earlier in the strong than in the weak declension of adjectives.

In the Scottish and northern dialects it had ceased to be

pronounced in all forms by about the middle of the thirteenth century.

In the Midland dialects it had ceased to be pronounced in all forms by about the middle of the fourteenth century, but the loss of final **-e** in pronunciation began in some parts of this large area at a much earlier date. Already in the *Ormulum* (about 1200) it was often unpronounced when the next word in the same sentence began with a vowel, in the dat. sing. of strong nouns and adjectives, and in the imperative singular of verbs. In the poetry of the fourteenth century it had become optional to retain or omit the final **-e** in most forms. But the full process of its loss in pronunciation was not completed until about one hundred years later than in the Scottish and northern dialects.

As Chaucer (1340–1400) is by far the most important ME. poet it will be useful to give here a brief summary of his retention and omission of the final **-e**. It should, however, be remembered that he was a very conservative poet, and that consequently his metrical forms are no sure guarantee of how he actually pronounced such forms in his spoken language. In his poetry the final **-e** was generally pronounced in dissyllabic forms with a long stem-syllable at the end of the line, but was often not pronounced in other positions. It was not pronounced in the following categories of forms:—In the pp. of strong verbs when the final **-n** had disappeared, as **comę, drivę, stōlę**; in the second pers. sing. of the preterite of strong verbs, as **bēręs, tōkęs**, &c.; in nouns with a short stem-syllable, as **sonę, wonę** *custom*, and also in the dat. singular of such nouns. It was generally pronounced in the following categories:—In the plural of attributive adjectives, and in the infinitive of verbs, as **bēre, māke**. It was sometimes pronounced and sometimes omitted in the following categories:—It was often omitted in the present indicative and the imperative, more seldom in the present subjunctive, and sometimes in the syncopated

forms of the singular and plural of the preterite of weak verbs. It was omitted in nouns with a short stem-syllable, but rarely in nouns with a long stem-syllable. In the dat. singular of nouns ending in a consonant it was generally omitted in pronunciation. It was often unpronounced in the singular of the weak declension of adjectives.

In the southern dialects the final ·e ceased to be pronounced in all forms in the second half of the fourteenth century.

§ 142. The loss of final ·e in trisyllabic forms can only be partially treated here as we shall have to return to it when dealing with ·e· in medial syllables (§§ 153–4). It began to disappear in early ME. when the first syllable was long and the second syllable had a secondary accent, but the secondary accent in the second syllable remained longer in some types of words than in others, and in poetry the final ·e often continued to be pronounced until the fifteenth century, whence such double forms as frendschipe, heiȝliche *highly*, siknesse, pl. wurþie *worthy*, beside frendschip, heiȝlich, sikness, wurþi. This explains why the final ·e disappeared so early in the inflected forms of dissyllabic adjectives, as pl. lęred *learned*, wurþi. The ·e regularly remained in early ME. in verbs of the type lovęde (OE. lufode), cp. § 153, but in verbs of the type mākede (OE. macode) it only remained for a time through the influence of dissyllabic preterites like dęmde (OE. dēmde) *he judged*, hĕrde (OE. hīerde, hērde) *he heard*, cp. § 153.

5. The Loss of e in Final Syllables ending in a Consonant.

§ 143. Endings like ·es, ·ed were in some dialects written ·is (·ys), -id (·yd), ·us, ·ud, see § 134, and Chaucer sometimes used these i-endings for the sake of rhyme.

§ 144. e disappeared in early ME. between a diphthong and a following liquid or nasal, as drawn beside older

drawen, draȝen (OE. dragen) *drawn*, fain (OE. fægen) *joyful*, fair (OE. fæger) *beautiful*, seil (OE. segel, segl) *sail*, and similarly hail, fǫur *four*, pp. lein lain, leir *lair*, main *power*, awn ǫwn *own*, rein *rain*, pp. slein slain, tail, wain *wagon*.

§ 145. e also disappeared in early ME. in the combination vowel + e + consonant, as foul from older fuwel fuȝel (OE. fugol) *bird, fowl* (§ 122), twīs *twice*, þrīs *thrice*, beside older twīes, þrīes.

§ 146. -es. This ending occurs in the gen. sing. of the strong declension of nouns and adjectives and in the plural of nouns except the weak declension, in adverbial genitives, in the second and third pers. singular and the plural of the present in the northern dialects. In the northern and north Midland dialects the e began to be syncopated in the early part of the fourteenth century and this process was completely carried out by the end of the century, as dai(e)s, wai(e)s, clāþ(e)s; adv. ell(e)s *else*, ǭns *once*; verbs, as cum(e)s com(e)s, bēr(e)s, &c. When unsyncopated forms are found after the above date in monuments belonging to the Scottish and northern dialects, they are due to the imitation of Chaucerian forms. The syncope in nouns and adjectives took place much later in the Midland and southern dialects.

§ 147. -en. This ending occurs in the weak declension of nouns and adjectives, in the infinitive, in the past participle of strong verbs, in the present plural of the subjunctive, in the preterite plural of strong and weak verbs, and in the Midland dialects in the present plural of the indicative. The final -n in some of these categories disappeared during the OE. period in the northern dialects. The final -n also generally disappeared early in the southern dialects, but see § 247. After the loss of the final -n the e also gradually disappeared. When preceded by a diphthong the e was regularly syncopated in the infinitive, as lein leyn *to lay*, sein seyn *to say*. It was also syncopated between r–n, and

l–n in the past participle of strong verbs, as **bǭrn, tǭrn, stǭln,** and also between a diphthong and the **n**, as pp. **slain slayn** (OE. **slægen**) *slain*, see § 144.

§ 148. **-er.** This ending chiefly occurs in the comparative of adjectives. The OE. ending was **-ra.** In passing from OE. to ME. the glide vowel **e** was developed between a preceding consonant and the **r** which gave in early ME. the ending **-ere.** And then the final **-e** disappeared, whence the ordinary ME. ending **-er,** as OE. **grīetra** = ME. **gretter,** OE. **brādra** = ME. **brāder brǭder**; and similarly with the ending of the gen. plural of strong adjectives (OE. **-ra**), cp. Chaucer **oure allerȩcok, alderbest, alderfirst.**

§ 149. **-est.** This ending occurs chiefly in the superlative of adjectives, and corresponds to the OE. ending **-est(a), -ost(a).** In ME. the **-e-** was never syncopated.

§ 150. **-est, -eþ.** These endings occur in the second and third pers. sing. of the present indicative, for the plural ending **-eþ**, see below. Here a distinction must be made between the different dialects. In the OE. period syncope was general in the strong verbs in WS. and Kentish, but in the Anglian dialects the forms without syncope were almost entirely generalized. This distinction was also preserved in the ME. period, that is, syncope regularly took place in the southern dialects, but generally not in the Midland dialects, and not at all in the northern dialects. In the Midland dialects syncope was far more common after long than after short stems. Chaucer has double forms in the third pers. singular, as **comþ, mākþ, lovȩþ,** beside **comeþ, mākeþ, loveþ.** Syncope did not take place in any of the dialects in the second pers. sing. of the second class of weak verbs, as **lovest, lǭkest,** OE. **lufast, lōcast.** The **e** in the ending **-eþ** of the plural of the present indicative was never syncopated in the southern dialects.

§ 151. **-ed.** This ending of the pp. of weak verbs corresponds to the OE. endings **-ed, -od.** The **-ed** regularly

remained in ME., but there are many new formations which were formed direct from the ME. preterite. Regular forms were: **māked** (OE. **macod**), **kīþed** (OE. **cȳþed**) *made known*, **wẹ̄red** (OE. **wered**) *defended*, &c. New formations were: **hĕrd** (OE. **hīered, hēred**) : **hĕrde, maad** : **māde**, beside the regular form **māked, clept** : **clepte**, beside the regular form **clẹ̄ped**.

6. The Development of ME. Svarabhakti Vowels in Medial Syllables.

§ 152. Many words which were dissyllabic in OE. became trisyllabic in ME. through the development of a glide vowel between a consonant and a following liquid, nasal or **w**:—

1. An **e** was developed about 1200 in the combination open voiced consonant + a liquid or nasal in dissyllabic forms with shortening of a preceding long vowel, as **breþeren** beside older **brẹ̄þren**, pl. **develes** beside older **dẹ̄vles, evere** (OE. **æfre**) *ever*, **slumeren** *to slumber*.

2. An **o** was developed between a liquid and a following **w** from older **ȝ** (§ 298), as **borọwen** beside older **borȝen** (OE. **borgian**) *to borrow*, and similarly **folọwen, halọwen** *to hallow*, **morọwe** *morrow*.

7. The Loss or Retention of Medial and Final e in Trisyllabic Forms.

§ 153. It is necessary to distinguish between trisyllabic forms with a short stem-syllable and those with a long stem-syllable. When the stem-syllable was short the medial **e** regularly disappeared, and when it was long the final **-e** disappeared. This loss of the medial or final **e** began to take place in early ME. Examples with short stem-syllables are: **þanne þonne** (OE. **þanone**) *thence*, pl. **fadres** (OE. **fæderas**), gen. and dat. sing. **watres, watre** (OE. **wæteres, wætere**),

pl. **devęles, hevęnes**, pl. **munkes monkes** (OE. **munecas**) from which was formed a new singular **munk monk**, and similarly **hemp, mint** *coin*, &c. The forms with syncope are very common in the *Ormulum*, as pl. **effne** beside sing. **efenn, gaddrenn, niþþrenn** *to humble*, **oppnenn, wattrenn**, gen. **werrldess** beside nom. **werelld** *world*, but even in the *Ormulum* we occasionally find new formations, especially in the preterite of weak verbs, as **lufede, oppnede**, &c.; in fact forms of the type **lufde** were rare in ME., because the medial **e** was mostly preserved through the influence of the **e** in the past participle. It should be noted that the medial **e** in preterites like **havęde** (OE. **hæfde**), **livęde** (OE. **lifde**) was never pronounced in the spoken language. Examples with long stem-syllable are: pl. **helpers, maiden(e)s** beside the new formation **maidnes**, pret. **māked** (OE. **macode**), **lǭked** (OE. **lōcode**), but preterites of the type **lǭked, māked** preserved the final **-e** for a time through the influence of dissyllabic preterites like **dę̄mde, hę̆rde**, cp. § 142. During the ME. period the above sound-laws became to some extent obliterated through analogical formations in both directions. In the northern dialects the loss of the final **-e** in forms with a short stem-syllable became more general. In the southern dialects the loss of the medial **e** in forms with a long stem-syllable became more general. In Chaucer double forms are sometimes found side by side, as **wę̄rędę** beside **wę̄red, clepte** beside **clę̄ped**. The trisyllabic forms are very rare in late ME. poetry.

§ 154. In trisyllabic forms containing a secondary accented syllable it is necessary to distinguish whether the secondary accent was on the second or on the third syllable. When it was on the second the final **-e** regularly disappeared, but when it was on the third the medial **e** disappeared. Examples of the former are: *Ormulum* **allmess** (OE. **ælmesse**) *alms*, **laffdiȝ** (OE. **hlǣfdige**) *lady*, **frendschip, heiȝlich, sikness**, beside older **frendschipe**, &c., see § 142. This explains

why adjectives like **englisch, hǭli, riȝtfull, wurþi,** &c., superlatives like **fairest, hardest,** derivatives in **-ung, -ing,** &c., remained uninflected in the oblique cases. Examples of the latter are: **Frīdai** (OE. **Frīgedæg**), **kindom** (OE. **cynedōm**), **neighbour** older **nehhebour** (OE. **nēahgebūr**), **quinstrę̄** beside older **quinestrę̄** *quince-tree.* This syncope of medial **e** is not common in early ME., and in the *Ormulum* it does not take place at all, but at a later date numerous analogical formations are found.

8. The Treatment of Unaccented e in Polysyllabic Forms.

§ 155. In forms of the type ×́××̀× the medial **e** disappeared in the first instance and then with the loss of the secondary accent in the third syllable the final **-e** also disappeared, as **mínchène** (OE. **mynecenu**), later **mínchen** *nun,* **hérbèrwe** (OE. **hereberge**) later **hérber** *harbour, inn,* **wébstère** (OE. **webbestre**) with **-è-** due to the influence of **webbere,** later **wébster** *female weaver,* and similarly **bakster, dáisì(e)** *daisy,* **minter, sempster,** &c. Preterites like **gaderede, scaterede** and those of the type **ánswèrède, wítnèssède** preserved the stronger secondary accent and had the endings **-ede, -ed, -de** apparently used indiscriminately.

9. The Treatment of Vowels in Prefixes.

§ 156. In the treatment of prefixes it is necessary to distinguish between original nouns and adjectives on the one hand, and verbs on the other. In OE. as in the other Old Germanic languages original nouns and adjectives containing a prefix had the principal accent on the prefix. This rule was preserved in ME. and accordingly the prefixes generally underwent no change, cp. **after-ward** (OE. **æfter-weard**), **unfair** (OE. **unfæger**), &c. On the other hand in OE. as in the other old Germanic languages verbs containing an

inseparable prefix had the principal accent on the verbal element. This rule was also preserved in ME. with the result that prefixes containing a long vowel in OE. were shortened in ME., as **abīden, arīsen** = OE. **ābīdan, ārīsan, to-brȩ̄ken** = OE. **tō-brecan** *to break to pieces.* With the exception of OE. **æt-, be-, ge-, of-, on-, ond-**, the prefixes containing a short vowel generally underwent no change in ME., as **forbȩ̄ren** (OE. **forberan**) *to forbear*, **fulfillen** (OE. **fulfyllan**) *to fulfil*, **mislīken** (OE. **mislīcian**) *to displease*, **undǭn** (OE. **undōn**) *to undo.* **æt-** became **at-**, as **athālden, -hǭlden** *to withhold.* **be-** became **bi-**, as **bicumen** (OE. **becuman**), **bihāten** (OE. **behātan**) *to promise.* **ge-** became **i-** (also written **y-**) through the intermediate stages **ȝi-, ī-**, as **iholpen** (OE. **geholpen**), **inǫugh** (OE. **genōg, genōh**) *enough*, **iwis** (OE. **gewiss**) *certain.* **of-, on-, ond-** became **a-**, as **adoun** (OE. **ofdūne**) *down*, **aþirst** (OE. **ofþyrst**) *thirsty*, **abouten** (OE. **onbūtan**) *about*, **along** (OE. **ondlong, andlang**) *along.*

10. The Treatment of Unaccented Words.

§ 157. This subject has been partly dealt with under the shortening of long vowels, see § 101, and we shall have to return to it when dealing with the pronouns and auxiliary verbs. By referring to Chapter XI of the *EOE. Gr.* it will be seen that many of the pronouns had double forms in OE., and similarly in ME. we also have accented beside unaccented forms, as **wĕ, ŭs, năt, nŏt** beside **nauȝt, nǫuȝt, ăn, ă** beside **ān, ǭn.** Final **-e** disappeared in early ME. in unaccented forms, as **ȝes** *yes*, **sǭn** *soon*, **þan** (**þen**), **whan** (**when**), &c., beside the accented forms **ȝese, sǭne, þanne** (**þenne**), **whanne** (**whenne**), &c.; in the inflected forms of words like **ān, mīn, þīn**, &c., and also between **l** or **n**, and **s** in final syllables, as **els** *else*, **hens** *hence*, **sins** *since*, **whens** *whence*, beside older **elles, hennes, sinnes** (**siþnes**),

whennes. The **-e** in the def. article often disappeared when the next word began with a vowel, as **þende** *the end*, **þǭþre** *the other*. This elision of the **e** has become generalized both before vowels and consonants in all the modern English dialects from Northumberland to Nottinghamshire, that is, it has become **þ** (never **ð**) or **t**, see *ED. Gr.* § 312.

CHAPTER V

THE SCANDINAVIAN AND FRENCH ELEMENTS IN ME.

1. THE SCANDINAVIAN ELEMENT IN ME.

§ **158.** This is a wide and important subject and at the same time a difficult subject, because of the very large number of words which were entirely alike or nearly alike in the Old English and Old Scandinavian languages. And we should now be unable to tell from which language they came if we had no English records before the invasions of the Scandinavians took place. The consequence was that an Englishman in those days would have no greater difficulty in understanding a Viking than a Yorkshire dialect speaker would have in understanding a Somersetshire peasant of to-day. And we even possess historical evidence that the old Scandinavians looked upon the English language as one with their own. In Chapter VII of the *Saga of Gunnlaugr Ormstunga* it is stated that there was at that time (eleventh century) 'the same tongue in England as in Norway and Denmark'.

§ **159.** The Scandinavian loan-words found their way into English in different strata and at different periods, which in some measure accounts for the same word appearing in various forms in ME., as **gauk, gǫwk, gǭk** *cuckoo*,

laus, lǫus, lōs *loose*, naut, nǫut *cattle*, &c. These periods may be conveniently divided into:—

1. From 787 to about 860. During this period the invaders merely made raids for the sake of plunder, and no loan-words worth mentioning came into the language.

2. From 860 to about 990. During this period a very large number of Scandinavians settled permanently in this country, and the foreign idiom was spoken over large tracts of the country.

3. From about 990 to 1016. This was a period of political conquest and of the importation of large numbers of loan-words into the language.

4. From 1013 to 1042 England was entirely under Danish rule. During this period English was spoken at Court, and by this time the foreign idiom had practically ceased to be spoken. An important factor which helped to bring about the complete fusion of the Scandinavian settlers and the English was the Norman Conquest in 1066, when both the Scandinavians and the English combined together to combat the invader.

5. From 1050 to 1150, when the English and Scandinavian peoples were completely merged together. This was the last and most important period of influx, and a very large number of loan-words found their way into the language during these years.

§ 160. The area over which the loan-words extended in OE. and ME. and still extends in the modern dialects was the northern, the north and east Midland counties down to East Anglia, and the north-western counties. The great bulk of the loan-words must have come into the language in the course of the tenth and especially the eleventh century, but they do not appear in great numbers in the literature until the ME. period. This was due to the fact that literature in late OE. was mainly written in the WS. dialect. We know that the Scandinavian influence was least of all in the

southern and south-western dialects, hence naturally very few loan-words would be found in the WS. dialect of the OE. period. Thus in Laȝamon's *Brut* (about 1205), the language of which keeps up much of the traditions of the WS. literature, there are very few Scandinavian words, while in the east Midland *Ormulum* (about 1200) the Scandinavian element is considerable, viz. about 250 such words.

§ **161.** The number of Scandinavian loan-words in ME. must have been very much greater than what appears in ME. literature. This is proved by the fact that the modern dialects contain thousands of such words including all parts of speech. In this connexion we will only mention one important piece of evidence showing how great the Scandinavian element is in the modern dialects. In the modern dialects OE. initial **sc-** (= **sk-**) has become **sh-** in native words just as in the standard language, as **shade, ship,** &c., whereas in words of foreign origin it has remained in the dialects just as in the standard language, as **scaffold, school, score, skill, skin, skirt, sky,** &c. Now if we exclude all **sc-** words of various origins which are common to the standard language and the dialects, it is a remarkable fact that the *English Dialect Dictionary* contains 1,154 simple words beginning with **sc-** (**sk-**).

§ **162.** In this connexion it is important to remember that the dialects spoken by the Scandinavian settlers had for a time a life of their own side by side with the English dialects, whilst the Scandinavians were still regarded by the English as foreigners. During this period of the existence of Scandinavian dialects spoken on English soil, owing to the intercourse between the two nations, fresh loan-words were being continually introduced into English, and then in the course of time the two languages gradually became merged into one which was chiefly English in form, but very rich in Scandinavian words. This process was in a great measure brought about by intermarriage between Scandinavian and English

families. That this was so is clearly seen by the large number of proper names of persons of Scandinavian origin which are found in late OE. and early ME. charters and documents, and by the large number of double forms with practically the same meaning, the one being Scandinavian and the other native English, as **aȝe** (**awe**) : **eie** *fear*, **deilen** : **dęlen** *to divide*, **egg** : **eie** (pl. **eyren**) *egg*, **frā** (**frǭ**) : **fram** *from*, **garþ** : **ȝard** *yard, garden*, **grā** : OE. **grǣg**, ME. **grei** *grey*, **gayt** : **gāt**, **gǭt** *goat*, **heil** : OE. **hāl**, ME. **hāl**, **hǭl** *sound, whole*, **lagu** : OE. **ǣ** *law*, **lāten**, **lǭten** : **lę̄ten**, **lę̄ten** (OE. **lǣtan**, **lētan**) *to let*, **lǫupen** : OE. **hlēapan** *to leap*, **laus** (**lǫus**) : OE. **lēas** *false, loose*, **naut** (**nǫut**) : OE. **nēat** *cattle*, **scateren** : **schatern**, **skiften** : **schiften**, **sister** : **suster** (OE. **sweostor**), **swein** : **swān** (**swǭn**) *servant*, NE. **sky** : **heaven**, **trigg** : OE. **trēowe** *fidelity*, **þei** : **þā** *those*, **weik** : OE. **wāc** *weak*, **werre** : **worse**, **ę̄pen** : OE. **wēpan** *to cry*, &c.

§ 163. With these few preliminary remarks we shall now proceed to state the more important phonological criteria by which the Scandinavian element in ME. can easily be recognized, and shall, as a rule, only give such illustrative examples as are to be found in well-known ME. texts, such as the *Cursor Mundi* (1300), Richard Rolle de Hampole's *Pricke of Conscience* (about 1349), Barbour's *Bruce* (1375), the *Ormulum* (1200), *Genesis and Exodus* (about 1250), the *Lay of Havelok the Dane* (1300), Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne* (1300-30), *Early English Alliterative Poems* (about 1350), &c. And it should be noted that the Scandinavian loan-words which came into ME. underwent all further sound-changes in common with the native words containing the same sounds. As Old Icelandic is the best representative of the Old Scandinavian languages the older illustrative examples are here taken from that language. When the OE. or ME. word comes first in the comparisons given in the following paragraphs, it means that the word is of native

origin, but of Scandinavian origin when the O.Icel. word comes first.

§ 164. When a Scandinavian loan-word contained a short stem-vowel at the time it was borrowed we have no means of determining from the vowel alone whether the word was of Scandinavian or English origin, that is, the vowel fell together in sound with the corresponding OE. or early ME. vowel, as OE. **eall**, ME. **al(l)** = O.Icel. **all·r** *all*, OE. **dragan** = O.Icel. **draga** *to draw*, OE. **sealt**, ME. **salt** = O.Icel. **salt**, O.Icel. **taka** = OE. **tacan**, ME. **taken**, later **tāken**. O.Icel. **fela** = ME. **felen**, later **fę̄len** *to conceal*, O.Icel. **geta** = ME. **gę̄ten** beside the native form **·ʒę̄ten** *to get*, O.Icel. **hnefi** = ME. **neve**, later **nę̄ve** *fist*, O.Icel. **ketill** = OE. **cietel**, ME. **ketel**, OE. **sendan** = O.Icel. **senda** *to send*. O.Icel. **skinn** = OE. **scinn**, ME. **skin**, O.Icel. **hitta** = ME. **hitten** *to hit*. O.Icel. **oddi** = ME. **odde** *odd*, OE. **open**, ME. **open**, later **ǭpen** = O.Icel. **opinn**, O.Icel. **rottinn** = ME. **roten** *rotten*. OE. **sum** = O.Icel. **sum·r** *some*, OE. **tunge** = O.Icel. **tunga** *tongue*. O.Icel. **flytja** = ME. **flitten, flütten** *to flit, migrate*, OE. **cynn** = O.Icel. **kyn** *kin, kindred*, O.Icel. **stytta** from older ***stynta** = ME. **stinten, stenten, stünten** *to stint, stop*, see § 49, O.Icel. **syster** = ME. **sister**.

§ 165. From the examples of long vowels given below it will be seen that with the exception of Germanic **ǣ** (§ 52) we have no means of determining from the long vowel alone whether the word containing it is of Scandinavian or English origin, as OE. **dōeman, dēman**, ME. **dę̄men** = O.Icel. **dœ̄ma** *to judge*, OE. ME. **hēr** = O.Icel. **hēr** *here*, O.Icel. **sēr** = ME. **sę̄r** *separately*, OE. **bītan**, ME. **bīten** = O.Icel. **bīta** *to bite*, O.Icel. **tīþinde** = ME. **tīþende** *tidings, news*, O.Icel. **þrīfa·sk** = ME. **þrīven** *to thrive*. OE. ME. **fōt** = O.Icel. **fōt·r** *foot*, O.Icel. **bōn** = ME. **bǭne** *request*, O.Icel. **rōt** = ME. **rǭte** *root*. OE. ME. **hūs** = O.Icel. **hūs** *house*, O.Icel. **būin·n** = ME. **boune** *ready*, O.Icel. **drūpa** = ME. **droupen** *to droop*. Pl. OE. **mȳs**, ME. **mīs, mēs, mūs** (§ 57)

= O.Icel. **mȳss** *mice*, O.Icel. **brȳnn** = ME. **brīn** *eyebrow*, O.Icel. **þrȳsta** = ME. **þrīsten, þrę̄sten, þrūsten** *to thrust*.

§ 166. The treatment of Germanic **æ** is entirely different in O.Icel. and OE. In O.Icel. it became **ā**, whereas in OE. it became **ē** (= ME. **ę̄**) in the Anglian and Kentish dialects, but remained in WS. Before nasals it became **ō** (= ME. **ǭ**) in all the OE. dialects. In this case we have an excellent test. If a ME. word is of Scandinavian origin it has **ā, ǭ** (§ 51), if it is of English origin it has **ę̄, ę̄** (§ 52), and **ǭ** before nasals, as O.Icel. **grā·r** = ME. **grā, grǭ** beside OE. **græg**, ME. **grei** *grey*, O.Icel. **hār** = ME. **hāre, hǭre** beside OE. **hǣr, hēr**, ME. **hę̄r, hę̄r** *hair*, O.Icel. **lāta** = ME. **lāten, lǭten** beside OE. **lǣtan, lētan**, ME. **lę̄ten, lę̄ten** *to let*, O.Icel. **rāþa** = ME. **rāþen, rǭþen** beside OE. **rædan** *to counsel*, O.Icel. **vāpn** = ME. **wāpen, wǭpen** beside OE. **wæpen** *weapon*, O.Icel. **vǭrom** from older ***vārum** = ME. **wāren, wǭren** beside OE. **wǣron** *we were*, and similarly **bāren, bǭren** *we bore*, **gāven, gǭven** *we gave*, OE. **mōna** = ME. **mǭne** = O.Icel. **māne** *moon*. A similar distinction existed in ME. when the O.Icel. **ā** corresponded to OE. **ēa**, of whatever origin, as O.Icel. **fā·r** = ME. **fā, fǭ** beside OE. **fēawe**, ME. **fę̄we** *few*, O.Icel. **flā** = ME. **flā(n), flǭ(n)**, beside OE. **flēan**, ME. **flę̄(n)** *to flay*, O.Icel. **slā** = ME. **slā(n), slǭ(n)**, beside OE. **slēan**, ME. **slę̄(n)** *to slay*.

O.Icel. **ār** with **ā** from Germanic **ai** = ME. **ār, ǭr** beside OE. **ǣ** from ***airiz** = ME. **ę̄r** *earlier, formerly, before*.

§ 167. A good test as to whether a ME. form is of Scandinavian or native English origin is to be found in the treatment of the Germanic diphthongs in the Scandinavian and English languages, especially the diphthongs **ai, au**, and the **i**-umlaut of the latter diphthong, as will be seen from the table given below. It should be noted that in O.Icel. the Germanic diphthong **eu** became a rising diphthong, viz. **jū** before **f, p, g, k**, and **jō** in all other positions. At the time, however, when Scandinavian loan-words came into

English the diphthong from Germanic **eu** must have been a falling diphthong, because it had the same development in ME. as OE. **ēo**, that is, it became **ę̄**, so that no further notice of it will be taken here.

Prim. Germ.	**ai**	**au**	**eu**	
O.Icel.	**ei**	**au**	**jō** (**jū**)	**ey**
ME.	**ei**(**ai**)	**ǫu**	**ę̄**	**ei**(**ai**)
OE.	**ā**	**ēa**	**ēo**	**īe**
ME.	**ā**(**ǭ**)	**ę̄**	**ę̄**	**ī**, **ū**, **ę̄**

§ 168. O.Icel. **ei** : **bleik·r** = ME. **bleik**, **blaik** beside OE. **blāc**, ME. **blāk**, **blǭk** *blcak*, **freista** = ME. **freisten** *to ask*, **geit** = ME. **geit**, **gait** beside OE. **gāt**, ME. **gāt**, **gǭt** *goat*, **heil**(**l**) = ME. **heil**, **hail** beside OE. **hāl**, ME. **hāl**, **hǭl** *sound, whole*, **heiþin·n** = ME. **heiþen**, **haiþen** beside the OE. mutated form **hǣþen**, ME. **hę̄þen** *heathen*, **leika** = ME. **leiken**, **laiken** beside OE. **lācan** *to play*, **leiþ·r** = ME. **leiþ**, **laiþ** beside OE. **lāþ**, ME. **lāþe**, **lǭþe** *loathsome*, **nei** = ME. **nai**, **nay** beside OE. **nā**, ME. **nā**, **nǭ** *no, nay*, **steik** = ME. **steike** *steak*, **þei·r**, **þeir**(**r**)**a**, **þeim** = ME. **þei**, **þeire**, **þeim**, NE. **they**, **their**, **them** beside OE. **þā** *those*, **þāra** (**þǣra**), **þǣm** (**þām**), **veik·r** = ME. **weik**, **waik** beside OE. **wāc**, ME. **wāke**, **wǭke** *weak*.

Note.—The **ei** in the above and similar words became **ai**, also written **ay**, about 1300 (§ 107), and then in the dialects south of the Humber the **ai** became **ę̄** before **k** about the end of the fourteenth century, as **wę̄k** beside older **weik** **waik** *weak*, and similarly **blę̄k** *bleak*, **stę̄k** *steak*.

§ 169. O.Icel. **au** : **gaula** = ME. **gǫulen**, **gaulen** *to howl*, **hlaupa** = ME. **lǫupen** beside OE. **hlēapan**, ME. **lę̄pen** *to leap*, **kaupa** = ME. **cǫupen** beside OE. **cēapian**, ME. **chę̄pen** *to buy*, **laus** = ME. **lǫus**(**e**), **lǭs** *loose* beside OE. **lēas**, ME. **lę̄s** *false, untrue*, **naut** = ME. **naut**, **nǭut** beside OE. **nēat**, ME. **nę̄te** *cattle*, **rauta** = ME. **rǫuten** *to bellow*. Cp. §§ 113 note, 159.

§ 170. O.Icel. **ey**: **leysa** = ME. **leisen, laisen** beside OE. (Anglian) **lēsan**, ME. **lēsen** *to loosen* (see § 66), **neyta** = ME. **naiten** *to make use of*, **treysta** = ME. **treisten, traisten** beside OE. **trȳstan*, ME. **trĭsten, trŭsten** *to trust.*

§ 171. In order to keep together the various criteria by which Scandinavian loan-words can be recognized in OE. and ME. we shall also include here the consonants.

§ 172. Initial **w** disappeared in early Old Scandinavian before **ǒ, ŭ** and **l**, whence forms like **ōpa** = ME. **ēpen** beside OE. **wēpan**, ME. **wēpen** from **wōpjan* *to weep*, **ōkr** = ME. **ǭker** beside OE. **wōcor** *usury*, **orm-r** *snake* = ME. proper name Orm, NE. Ormsby beside OE. **wurm, wyrm** *snake, worm*, **leita** = ME. **leiten, laiten** *to seek, look for*, beside OE. **wlātian** *to gaze.*

§ 173. Germanic **đ** remained in Old Scandinavian, but became **d** in prehistoric OE. (*EOE. Gr.* §§ 113, 133), whence O.Icel. **garð-r** *enclosure, yard* = ME. **garþ** and many mod. n. dialects **garth** beside OE. **geard**, ME. **ȝard, ȝerd** *yard*, O.Icel. **rāða** = ME. **rāþen, rǭþen** beside OE. **rædan, rēdan**, ME. **rēden, rēden** *to advise, counsel*, O.Icel. **tīðinde** = ME. **tīþende, tīþinde** beside ME. **tīdende, tīdinde** *tidings, news*: OE. **tīd** *time.*

§ 174. Old Scandinavian had no trace whatever of the palatalization of Germanic **k** when originally followed by a palatal vowel, whereas the **k** in this position became palatalized in prehistoric OE. (*EOE. Gr.* § 166), and then in late OE. or early ME. itbecame ass ibilated to **tš**, written **ch**, in all the dialects, see Hoops, *Wissenschaftliche Forschungsberichte*, pp. 78–9, but in other positions it remained both in OE. and ME. Examples are: O.Icel. **bekkr** = ME. **bek** beside OE. **bece**, ME. **beche** *brook*, O.Icel. **kirkja** = ME. **kirke**, mod. n. dialects **kirk** beside OE. **cir(i)ce**, ME. **chir(e)che** *church*, O.Icel. **kirna** = mod. n. dialects **kirn** beside ME. **chirne** *churn*, O.Icel. **kista** = mod. n. dialects **kist** beside OE. **cest, cist**, ME. **cheste, chiste** *chest*, O.Icel.

dīki = ME. dīke beside OE. dīc, ME. dīch, NE. dike beside ditch, O.Icel. **ketill** = ME. **ketel** beside OE. cietel, ME. **chetel** *kettle*. But O.Icel. **kald·r**, early OE. **ceald, cald**, ME. **cāld, cǭld** *cold* (see § 71), O.Icel. **kalla**, late OE. **ceallian**, ME. **callen** *to call*, O.Icel. **kenna**, OE. **cennan**, ME. **kennen** from ***kannjan** *to know, recognize*. See § 285.

§ 175. Initial, medial, and final **sk** is a good test, because there can be no doubt that **sk** (sc) became **sch** in ME. native words, see § 161. Examples are: O.Icel. **skel** = mod. n. dialects **skel** beside OE. **sciell**, ME. **schelle** *shell*, O.Icel. **skifta** = ME. **skiften**, mod. n. dialects **skift** beside OE. **sciftan**, ME. **schiften** *to shift*, O.Icel. **aska** = ME. **aske** beside OE. **asce**, ME. **asche** *ashes*, **fisk·r** = ME. **fisk** (Orm pl. **fisskess**) beside OE. **fisc**, ME. **fisch** *fish*.

§ 176. The Germanic initial spirant ȝ became the explosive **g** in the Old Scandinavian languages, and also during the OE. period before guttural vowels, but remained in OE. before palatal vowels (*EOE. Gr.* § 168), whence we have O.Icel. **g-**, but OE. and ME. **g-** beside **ȝ-**, as O.Icel. **gaf** = ME. **gaf** beside OE. **geaf**, ME. **ȝaf, ȝef** *he gave*, O.Icel. **gapa** = ME. **gāpen** *to yawn, gape*, O.Icel. **garn** = ME. and many mod. dialects **garn** beside OE. **gearn** *yarn*, O.Icel. **garð·r** *enclosure, yard* = ME. **garþ** beside OE. **geard**, ME. **ȝard, ȝerd** *yard*, O.Icel. **gat** *hole, opening* = ME. **gat, gāte** (cp. § 292) beside OE. **geat**, ME. **ȝat, ȝet**, and many mod. dialects **yat, yet** *gate*, O.Icel. **geta** = ME. **gę̄ten** *to get*, beside OE. only in compounds, as **forgietan**, ME. **forȝę̄ten** *to forget*.

§ 177. Germanic medial ȝȝ, of whatever origin, became **gg** in the prehistoric period of all the Germanic languages, which in OE. became differentiated into palatal **gg** (written **cg**) and guttural **gg** under the same conditions as those by which Germanic **k** became differentiated into palatal and guttural **k** (§ 280). The guttural **gg** remained in OE. and ME., but palatal **gg** became assibilated to **dž** (written **gg**) in

late OE. or early ME., as OE. **dogga**, ME. **dogge** *dog*, but OE. **licgan**, ME. **liggen** (=*lidžen) *to lie down*. Examples are: O.Icel. **bryggja** = ME. **brigge** and mod. n. and Midl. dialects **brig** beside OE. **brycg**, ME. **brigge**, **brügge** *bridge*, O.Icel. **eggja** = ME. **eggen** *to egg on*, O.Icel. **hrygg·r** = ME. and many mod. dialects **rig** beside OE. **hrycg**, ME. **rigge**, **rügge** *ridge, back*, O.Icel. **liggja** = ME. **liggen** and many mod. dialects **lig** beside OE. **licgan**, ME. **liggen** *to lie down*.

2. THE FRENCH ELEMENT IN ME.

§ **178.** The French element which gained a permanent footing in ME. was far greater in amount than the sum total of all the other foreign elements, and it also differed very materially in its nature from those elements. The Scandinavian element consisted for the most part of every-day words, such as would be used by the common people, whereas the French element was largely composed of words representing a higher culture or state of civilization than either the Scandinavian or the native element, such as military, ecclesiastical, legal, hunting, and heraldic terms. This is accounted for by the fact that the Anglo-Normans belonged to the upper classes, whereas the Scandinavians belonged chiefly to the yeoman and agricultural classes. Hence it may be said that the French or Anglo-Norman element penetrated from the higher to the lower classes, whereas the Scandinavian element penetrated from the lower to the upper classes, in so far as such words were permanently incorporated into the standard language.

§ **179.** As a result of the Norman Conquest French in England had become the language of the Court, of the nobility, of the clergy, and indeed of all who wished for and sought advancement in Church or State. Robert of Gloucester (1298) thus describes the important position of French in the England of his day: ‘ Lo ! thus came England into Normandy's hand and the Normans could then speak

nothing but their own tongue. They spoke French as they did at home, and taught their children to do likewise, so that men of high rank in the country, who are their descendants, keep to that same tongue, which they inherited from them, for unless a man knows French, he is little esteemed. But the lower ranks still keep to English, their own native tongue. I believe there is no country in all the world, save England only, that keeps not to its native speech. But one knows well, that it is good to be able to speak both, for the more knowledge a man has, the greater his worth,' see Morris and Skeat's *Specimens of Early English*, Part II, pp. 8–9. In the same volume (pp. 240–2) another interesting passage bearing on this subject is to be found in John of Trevisa's translation of Higden's *Polychronicon* (1387). He records how the English 'birth-tongue' has become 'impaired' by the admixture of too much French, for one reason because 'children in school, contrary to the usage and manner of all other nations, are compelled to neglect their own language and construe their lessons and hear things in French, and have done so, since the Normans came first into England'. But he goes on to tell us in an additional passage of his own authorship, that in the year of our Lord 1385 'in all the grammar schools of England, children neglect French, and construe and learn in English'.

§ 180. It has been estimated that the population of this country, including the Scandinavians, was about two millions at the time of the Norman Conquest, and that of these one-fourth were killed or otherwise disappeared during the Conqueror's reign, and that on the other hand at least 500,000 Frenchmen settled in England during his reign, so that there was for a time great danger lest the English language should be ousted by Norman-French. Had it not been for the strong infusion of Scandinavian settlers in England at this period, whose influence would tend towards

the preservation of the kindred Germanic tongue, this danger would probably not have been averted.

§ 181. But the French element in ME. is not wholly Anglo-Norman, there was also a certain infusion of Central French, or, as it is sometimes termed, Parisian French. For some time Anglo-Norman prevailed, but gradually it came to be regarded as an inferior dialect of Old French, and already in the thirteenth century and onwards into the fourteenth century, the educated and upper classes began to learn and to speak Central French. And Anglo-Norman practically died out as a spoken language. This brought about the introduction of a large number of Central French words into the standard ME. of authors like Chaucer, Lydgate, &c. Nearly all the words introduced during the fifteenth century are from Central French. This admixture of the two French elements gave rise to many double forms in ME., the one being chiefly used by the lower and the other by the educated classes. And the difference between the forms manifested itself especially in the treatment of the vowels of unaccented syllables. Some of these differences are still reflected in the standard language and the dialects of the present day, as **edjūkeit, edžūkeit : edikēt, -eət** *educate*, **fītšə : fiətə** *feature*, **kɒzn : kuzin** *cousin*, **vælju : valə vali** *value*, &c.

§ 182. French was the language used in the Courts of Law until 1362, in which year it was decreed by an Act of Parliament that all pleadings in the Courts should henceforth be conducted in English, because, as is stated in the preamble to the Act, French was 'become much unknown in the realm'. But the mongrel French known as 'Law French' continued to exist for centuries later, and it was not finally abolished until 1731. The Proceedings in Parliament were recorded in French till 1483, when Richard III introduced a reform whereby the Statutes were for the first time drawn up in English. French or Latin was used at the

Universities, and it was not until 1349 that boys in schools began to learn Latin through the medium of English instead of French.

§ 183. The French element only found its way gradually into literature, and its influx was always much greater in the South than in the North, a difference still reflected in the modern English dialects. The Peterborough Chronicle, which was continued until 1154, contains only fourteen French words. The total number of French loan-words up to the end of the twelfth century amounts only to about a hundred. Between 1250 and 1350 hundreds of words were introduced, and then, after about the year 1400, the numbers began to decrease rapidly. As far as literature is concerned the period of greatest influx was between 1250 and 1400, the highest point being reached during the second half of the fourteenth century. Chaucer employed a far greater number of French words than any other author of his day. As an illustration of the French element in early ME. literature may be quoted the number of French words found in three works belonging to different dialects of the early part of the thirteenth century :—The *Ormulum* (about 1200), consisting of more than 20,000 lines, contains only about 20 ; Laȝamon's *Brut*, Text A (about 1203), consisting of 32,241 short lines, and based upon Wace's *Le Roman de Brut*, contains only 87 ; and the *Ancren Riwle* (about 1210), consisting of about 200 printed pages, contains 500. In conclusion it may be noted that French nouns and adjectives were generally taken over in their accusative forms (O.Fr. generally : nom. sing. **-s**, acc. sing. no **s-** ; nom. pl. no **s-**, acc. pl. **-s**). In the verbs the strong stem-form of the present sing. sometimes became the type for the whole of the inflexion, but sometimes the weak stem-form of the plural became the type, hence in ME. we often have side by side double forms, as **destruien** beside **destroyen**, **prēven** beside **prōven**, see §§ 198, 202.

§ 184. Now that some account has been given of the nature and amount of the French loan-words in ME. we will proceed to look at the subject from a philological point of view. Although it is true that after AN. and C.Fr. words were introduced into English they underwent all further changes in common with the native English words containing the same sounds, yet from a philological point of view it is necessary to know not only how the words were pronounced at the time they were introduced, but also to know what special phonological changes they underwent at the time of their introduction. But this knowledge can only be acquired by treating the subject in much the same manner as the native element is generally treated in passing from OE. to ME. By adopting this method of treatment some light can be thrown upon many phonological points connected with the native element in ME. By way of illustration a few such points may be mentioned here:—

1. However early AN. words containing long **ā** were introduced, they were not introduced early enough for the long **ā** to fall together with OE. long **ā** in ME. except in the northern dialects (§ 51). From this we can infer that OE. long **ā** began to be rounded to **ǭ** at a very early period, cp. ME. **cāve, damāge, dāme** beside **bǭt** *boat*, **stǭn, tǭ** *toe*.

2. The ME. **ǭ** from AN. **o** in open syllables fell together with the OE. **o** in open syllables, as **cǭte** *coat*, **rǭse** *rose* beside **þrǭte** (OE. **þrote**) *throat*, **hǭpen** (OE. **hopian**) *to hope*, but not with the ME. **ǭ** from OE. **ā**, as in **bǭt** (OE. **bāt**) *boat*, **stǭn** (OE. **stān**) *stone*. This is clearly proved by the difference in the development of the two kinds of **ǭ** in the modern dialects, **kǫit, þrǫit** beside **buət, stuən** (§ 51 note).

3. And similarly the modern dialects show that the ME. **ę̄** from older **ei** in AN. words (§ 205, 2) fell together with the ME. **ę̄** from OE. **ǣ** (= the **i**-umlaut of **ā**) and **ēa** (§§ 52, 63), but not with the **ę̄** from OE. **e** in open syllables (§ 80).

4. The OE. ü-sound (written **y**) remained in the west Midland and southern dialects until the end of the fourteenth century and then became unrounded to **i** (§ **49**, 3), but the ü in closed syllables of AN. words was never unrounded to **i** in the above dialects, but became **u** during the ME. period (§ **193**), which shows that the two kinds of ü had not precisely the same pronunciation otherwise they would regularly have fallen together. And in like manner the OE. ū-sound (written ȳ) remained in the above dialects until the end of the fourteenth century, and then became unrounded to ī (§ **57**, 3), but the ū, of whatever origin, in AN. words was never unrounded to ī; for it **iu** was substituted in all the dialects of England, see § **202**.

§ **185.** Before entering upon the history of the AN. simple vowels and diphthongs in ME. it will be useful to state here a few general principles concerning the vowel-system in general.

1. All the nasal vowels became denasalized and then these oral vowels generally had in ME. the same further development as the corresponding original oral vowels.

2. All final accented vowels were long or became long in ME.

3. All short vowels were lengthened in open syllables of dissyllabic forms.

4. Short vowels were lengthened in monosyllables before a single final consonant.

5. Short vowels were lengthened before a mute + liquid.

6. Short vowels were generally lengthened before **st** (§ **203**).

7. Short accented vowels were lengthened before another vowel in dissyllabic words.

8. Vowels were short before consonant combinations other than a mute + liquid. They also remained short in open syllables of trisyllabic words.

The cause of the lengthening of the stem-vowel in type 4 was due to the inflected forms, just as in ME. native words

like cǭle (OE. **col**, gen. **coles**) *coal* (§ 81), &c. The stem-vowel in words of types 5 and 6 was in reality generally in an open syllable, because the following consonant combinations mostly belonged to the second syllable. There was a tendency to shorten the vowel again in types 5 and 6, especially when the final -e ceased to be pronounced, as **propre, couple, double, trouble**; **arest, best** beside bę̄st *beast*, **forest, tempest**, &c.

9. Instead of the AN. the O.Fr. vowel-system is sometimes taken as the basis for treating the AN. element in ME. When that is the case it should be remembered that several of the O.Fr. diphthongs underwent changes in AN.; the most important of the independent changes are given in the following table:—

O.Fr.	ai,	ǫi,	üi,	ie,	ue
AN.	ei,	ui,	ū,	ę̄,	ō

10. As a result of the AN. element in ME. two new diphthongs were added to those already existing in the native element, viz. ǫi and ui.

11. In dealing with the vowels we have to distinguish between: (1) the vowels of accented syllables, (2) the vowels of pretonic syllables, and (3) the vowels of post-tonic syllables and unaccented syllables generally.

1. The Vowels of Accented Syllables.

§ 186. The O.Fr. and AN. accented vowels in early borrowed words, which became post-tonic in ME. through shifting of the accent, remained for a time unchanged, and then later became weakened down through loss of the new secondary accent.

a. *The Short Vowels.*

§ 187. The short vowels generally remained before the consonant combinations which had short vowels before them in native words. They also remained in open syllables of

trisyllabic forms. The short nasalized vowels became denasalized and then generally had the same further development as the old oral vowels. Examples are :—

§ 188. a :, as **balle, cacchen, calme, charge, charme, large, part, scarce; angle, blank, cancre, frank, janglen,** cp. § 211.

§ 189. AN. ę and ẹ generally appear in ME. as ę, as **accepten, castel, clerk, desert, detesten, dette** *debt*, **distresse, lettre, medlen, pressen, taverne, werre** *war*, but **cę̄sen** beside **cessen** *to cease*. The **e** was often lengthened before **r** + consonant, as **pę̄rche, sę̄rchen, tę̄rme** beside **perche, serchen, terme,** see § 196. **assenten, attempten, defenden, membre, menden, presence, silence.** This **e** became **i** before **nk** at the same time **e** became **i** in native words, as **enke, inke** (O.Fr. **enque**), see § 132.

§ 190. i :, as **consideren, deliveren, dische, epistle, finischen, punischen, resisten, riche; prince, simple,** cp. § 199.

§ 191. o :, as **apostle, cofre, fors** *force*, **loggen** *to lodge*, **ordre, propre, robben, rollen.** But the **o** was often lengthened before **r** + consonant, see § 200.

§ 192. u : O.Fr. ọ and u fell together in **u** in AN., and then the **u** generally remained in ME., as **discuvren, purpre** *purple*, **purse, puschen (poschen)** *to push*, **turnen, turtle;** with **u** = O.Fr. ọ, as **encumbren, numbre, summe, trumpe** *trumpet*.

§ 193. AN. ü (written **u**) remained in early ME., but during the ME. period it became **u**, as **juggen** *to judge*, **just, purgen** *to purge*, **sepulcre; humble.**

b. *The Long Vowels.*

§ 194. All final accented vowels became long. Short vowels were lengthened in monosyllables before a single consonant. Short accented vowels were also lengthened before another vowel in dissyllabic words. All vowels were

lengthened in open syllables of dissyllabic forms, and also before two consonants belonging to the second syllable.

§ 195. ā :, as blāme, cās *case*, cāve, debāte, escāpen, dāme, declāren, generāl, grāpe, lāke, pāle, pās ; fāble, mirācle, tāble ; āge (= *ā·dže), and similarly cāge, corāge, damāge, homāge, imāge ; grāce (= *grā·tse), chācen, plāce, trācen, see § 79 note 1. But the ă in AN. ·arie = C.Fr. ·aire from Lat. ·arium remained short in open syllables, and also generally in ME. verbs ending in ·arien, as adversarie, Februarie, necessarie ; carien, marien, tarien.

§ 196. O.Fr. ę̄, as bę̄k *beak*, condicionę̄l, eternę̄l, hostę̄l, nę̄t *neat*, prę̄chen, repę̄len, requę̄ren *to require*, wę̄re beside werre *war*, but O.Fr. e before r + consonant, as pę̄rcen (pę̄rcen) *to pierce*, pę̄rle, rehę̄rsen *to rehearse*, sę̄rchen, tę̄rme, see §§ 63 note, 205.

§ 197. 1. ę̄ = O.Fr. e, as appę̄ren *to appear*, beautę̄ *beauty*, clę̄r *clear*, daungę̄r, frę̄re *brother*, pę̄r *peer*, pitę̄ *pity*, succę̄den. AN. ·ę̄je, ·eie (= O.Fr. ·ę̄e from Lat. ·āta·) became ·eie (·ey) in ME. O.Fr. ·ę̄e also became ę̄ in forms introduced into ME., although the second e was preserved in writing, hence in ME. we often have double forms, as countreie and countrę̄ę, entreie and entrę̄ę, journeie and journę̄ę, valeie and valę̄ę *valley*.

2. O.Fr. ie became ę̄ in AN. about 1150 and then the ę̄ remained in ME., sometimes written ie, as achę̄ven, fę̄ble, grę̄ven *to grieve*, manę̄re, matę̄re, nę̄ce *niece*, pę̄ce piece *piece*, preię̄re *prayer*, relę̄ven, rivę̄re, sę̄ge *siege* ; brę̄f, chę̄f, grę̄f grief *grief*, meschę̄f *mischief*, cp. § 50 ; contę̄nen, maintę̄nen, sustę̄nen. The verbs of this type were later remodelled after the analogy of verbs like ordeinen, see § 210.

§ 198. O.Fr. ue became ō in AN. and then the ō had the same further development in ME. as OE. ēo (§ 65), that is, it became unrounded to ę̄ in all the dialects except the west

Midland and the southern dialects, but in these latter dialects it also became unrounded to ę̄ about the end of the fourteenth century. It was often written eo and in the west Midland and southern dialects also oe, ue, o, and u, see § 65. Examples are: bę̄f *beef*, contrę̄ven *to contrive*, dę̄l doel duel *sadness*, mę̄ven *to move*, pę̄ple poeple people *people*, prę̄f *proof*, prę̄ven, reprę̄ven. The verbal forms had in O.Fr. ue in the first pers. singular and ō̧ in the first pers. plural, as muef, pl. mō̧vons. In ME. the strong form of the singular generally became the type for the whole inflexion, but sometimes the weak form of the plural became the type, hence in ME. we have side by side apprę̄ven and apprō̧ven, mę̄ven and mō̧ven, prę̄ven and prō̧ven, &c. The ę̄, ō̧ were shortened to e, o before an r in the following syllable, as keveren, koveren *to cover*, &c.

§ 199. ī: as arrīven, brībe, companīe, crȳen, defȳen, denȳen, delīt *delight*, desȳr, despīsen, devīsen, dīnen, entīcen, justīse, malīce, mercȳ, strīven; gentīl, leisīr, prȳs, strīf; bīble, tīgre; fīn *fine*, basīn, gardīn, cp. § 50. The i also became ī before n + dental, as pīnte, but prince, &c.

§ 200. ō̧ (= Lat. au, ŏ):, as clō̧ke, clō̧sen, cō̧te, dispō̧sen, nō̧ble, nō̧te, repō̧sen, reprō̧chen, restȱren, rō̧be, rō̧se, suppō̧sen, tresȱr; and also before r + consonant, as fȱrce, fȱrge, pȱrk, pȱrt. Beside fō̧l *fool*, pō̧re (O.Fr. povre) *poor*, trō̧ne *throne* we have fō̧l, pō̧re, trō̧ne. AN. -orie (= C.Fr. -oire) became -ō̧rie in ME., as glō̧rie, memō̧rie, stō̧rie, victō̧rie.

§ 201. ū (= AN. u O.Fr. o), as allowen, clamour, creatour, culour, devouren, devout, doute *doubt*, flour *flower*, goute, gracious, honour, houre, labour, poudre, sermoun, spouse, tour *tower*, touchen, vouchen; before r + consonant, as course, court, sours *source*; before mb, n, nd, nt, nce, nge (= ndž), as abounden, acount, amount, condicioun, count, encountren, līoun, mount, ounce, pardoun, ploungen, prisoun, pronouncen, renoun, rę̄soun

reason, round, soun *sound*, toumbe, but always uncle. Cp. § 50. The ū afterwards underwent shortening in couple, double, ploungen, touchen, troublen.

§ 202. ū = 1. O.Fr. and AN. ü from Lat. ŭ. The pure ū-sound did not exist in any of the dialects of England at the time the AN. words containing this sound were introduced. There was a kind of ū-sound in the west Midland and some of the southern dialects, but it was different from the AN. sound, as is evidenced by the subsequent history of the two sounds both in ME. and the modern dialects (cp. § 57). For AN. ū was substituted what seemed to the English ear the nearest equivalent, viz. iu, and this is also the case in modern times when English people without a knowledge of phonetics attempt to reproduce Modern French ū. In the older loan-words it was generally written u, as duren, usen, vertu, and later also eu, ew, iu, yw (cp. §§ 112, 116). Examples are: accūsen, būgle, dūren, creatūre, cūren, dūk *duke*, figūre, fortūne, mesūre, pūr, rūde, refūsen, refūten, sūgre *sugar*, sūr, ūsen.

2. = O.Fr. üi (from Lat. ū, ŏ + i) became ū in AN. for which iu was substituted in ME., written u (ui), eu, ew, iu, iw, as fruit frut, pu pew puw *pew*, suit, cp. §§ 112, 116. The verbal forms had in O.Fr. üi in the first pers. sing. and ọi in the first pers. plural. In ME. the strong form of the singular generally became the type for the whole of the inflexion, but sometimes the weak form of the plural became the type, hence in ME. we have side by side forms like anuien and anoien, destruien and destroien, vuiden and voiden.

§ 203. Before st we often have double forms just as in native English words (cp. § 97), and one or other of the forms became generalized, as chāste, hāste, tāsten, wāsten; bę̄ste, fę̄ste *feast*, but arest, forest, tempest; Chrīst; bǭsten, cǭste *coast*, hǭst, pǭst, rǭsten, tǭsten, but cost, costen; crouste but later cruste; jŭst.

§ 204. In place of long vowel + a single consonant, we sometimes have a short vowel + double consonant, as chapelle : chapęlle, passen : pās ; cessen : cęsen *to cease*, dette : dętte *debt*, lettre : lętre, plegge : plęgge *pledge*, werre : węrre *war* ; quitte : quīte ; loggen : lǫgen *to lodge*, proffren : prǫfren ; copple (o = u) : couple ; süggre : sūgre *sugar*, &c.

c. *The Diphthongs.*

ai, ei

§ 205. O.Fr. ai and ei fell together in ęi in AN. and then the ei became ai in ME. at the same time as ei became ai in native words (§ 107). And then later the ai became ę̄ before consonants, especially before liquids, dentals, and s, so that in ME. we often have ę̄ beside ai, and ei.

Examples are :—

1. O.Fr. ai, as aiden, air, assaien *to test*, claimen, delai, gai, grain, lai *lay, song*, maire *mayor*, maistre, paien *to pay*, plain, rai, repairen, vain, waiten.

2. O.Fr. ei, as conveien, deceiven, despeir, displeien, heir, obeien, moneie, peine *pain*, preien *to pray*, receiven.

3. O.Fr. ai and ei, as decę̄ven, dę̄s (deis) *table*, disę̄se, ę̄se (aise) *ease*, encrę̄sen, frę̄le (fraile) *frail*, grę̄se, mę̄re (maire), pę̄s (pais) *peace*, plę̄den, plę̄sen, recę̄t (receit) *receipt*, recę̄ven (receiven), sę̄sen (saisen) *to seize*, trę̄ten. See § 63 note.

ǫi

§ 206. AN. ǫi (= O.Fr. ǫi from Lat. au + i) remained in ME., as chǫis *choice*, clǫistre, jǫie, nǫise, pǫisen *to poise*, rejǫisen. The ǫi from older ei in C.Fr. loan-words also remained, as cǫi, devǫir, emplǫyen, explǫit, &c.

ui

§ 207. O.Fr. ǫi, ui (from Lat. ō, u + i) = AN. ui which remained in ME. and also in NE. until the late sixteenth or

early seventeenth century, although it was generally written **oi** (**oy**), as **acointen** *to acquaint*, **boilen**, **enointen**, **joint**, **point**, **poisen** *to poison*, **soilen**, &c. Forms like **voice**, **moist** were from Central French.

au

§ 208. O.Fr. and AN. **au** from older a+l remained in early ME., and then later it became **ā** before labials, as **assaut** *assault*, **fauchon** *falchion*, **faute** *fault*, **heraud**, **paume**, later **pāme** *palm of the hand*, **sauce**, **sauf** later **sāf** *safe*, **sauven** later **sāven**, see § 213, 1.

eu

§ 209. AN. **eu** (= O.Fr. **ieu**) remained in early ME. and then became **iu** at the same time that **eu** in native words became **iu**, written **u**, **eu**, **ew**, **iu**, **iw**, see § 112, as **adewe** *adieu*, **Jew Jiw**, **reule rewle riule** *rule*; and similarly O.Fr. **eu** from older **ou**, as **corfew** *curfew*, **blew bliw** *blue*, **nevew** *nephew*.

d. *The Formation of New Diphthongs.*

§ 210. Palatal l' and n' generally became **il** and **in**, and then the **i** combined with the preceding vowel to form a diphthong or **ī** when the preceding vowel was **i**, as **assailen**, **aveilen**, **barain** *barren*, **bataile**, **failen**, **fountaine**, **gainen**, **maille** *mail*, **montaine** *mountain*, **railen**, **travail**, **vitaille** *victuals*. **atteinen**, **compleynen**, **feinen** *to feign*, **feint**, **merveile** *marvel*, **ordeinen**, **peinten**, **reine** *reign* **restreinen**, **veile**. And then the **ei** became **ai** at the same time as **ei** in native words became **ai** (§ 107). **Coloigne** *Cologne*. **ui** (written **oi**) from O.Fr. **ui**, as **boilen**, **joinen**, **oile**, **soile**, **spoilen**. O.Fr. **üi** which became **ū** in AN. and for which **iu** was substituted in ME., written **u**, **ui** (see § 202, 2), as **impugnen**, **Juil Jul** *July*, **Juin Jun** *June*. **benīgne benīne**, where **-īgn** = **-īn**, and similarly **resīgnen**, **sīgne**,

vīgne ; perīl. When the diphthongs in the above and similar examples lost their secondary accent during the ME. period they were generally weakened down to **e**, although the old spelling was generally preserved.

NOTE.—Palatal l', n' were often expressed by **lj** (written **lȝ, lȝh, ly**), **nj** (written **nȝ**) in the Scottish dialects, as **batalȝe, ganȝe** beside **bataile, gaine**; and in late ME. they were also sometimes expressed by **lj, nj** (written **li, ni**) in the Southern dialects, as **talie, spaniel** beside **taile** *tally*, **spainel**, see JORDAN, *ME. Gr.* §§ 253, 256.

§ 211. Between **a** and a nasal belonging to the same syllable a glide was developed in AN., which in ME. combined with the preceding vowel to form the diphthong **au**, before final **n**, before **m** + labial, and **n** + dental (= **n** + **d, t** or **s, n** + **dž** or **tš**), as **aungel, aunte, balaunce, braunche, chaumbre, chaunce, chaunge, daunce daunse, demaunden, distaunce, exaumple, garlaunde, graunten, haunten, jaumbe, laumpe, paun, plesaunt, servaunt, slaundre, tauny, vaunten.** And then later the **au** became **ā** before **m** + labial and **n** + **dž** or **tš**, see § 213, 1.

§ 212. The **ā** which arose from the above **au** before **n** + **dž** or **tš** became **ai** in some parts of the western and northern areas about the end of the fourteenth century, as **chaynge** *change*, **raynge, straynge** ; **braynche** *branch*, **staynche** *to stanch.*

e. *Monophthongization.*

§ 213. Before certain consonant combinations some of the diphthongs became monophthongs about the end of the thirteenth and early part of the fourteenth centuries :—

1. **au** became **ā** before labials, **n** + **dž** or **tš, dž** and **tš**, as **āngel, bāme** older **baum bawm** *balm*, **brānche, chāmbre, chāngen, jāmbe, lămpe**; **fāchon** *falchion*, **gāgen, sāfe, săvage, sāven** *to save*, see §§ **208, 211.**

2. **ai, ui** became **a, u** before **š** and **s** + consonant, as **abaschen** older **abaischen** *to abash*, **ascheler** (O.Fr.

aisselier) *ashlar*, māster older maister, casche (O.Fr. caisse); buschel (O.Fr. buissel), cuschin older quischin *cushion*, cruschen older cruischen *to crush*.

3. ęu became ę̄ before labials, as flę̄me older flęume *phlegm*, rę̄me older ręume (reaume) *realm*.

f. *Vowel Contraction.*

§ 214. Vowel contraction took place partly in AN. and partly in ME., especially when the second vowel or diphthong was e, i, u, or ei, oi, as sę̄l (O.Fr. sëel) *seal*, vę̄l (O.Fr. vëel) *veal*, chaine (O.Fr. chaëine), cọin (O.Fr. cooin) *quince*, brawn (O.Fr. braoun), mirour (O.Fr. mireür), sūr (O.Fr. seür) *sure*; O.Fr. third pers. sing. obeït *he obeys*, pl. obeïssent, whence ME. obeien beside obeischen, and similarly abaischen *to abash*, traien beside traischen *to betray*, rejọischen *to rejoice*.

Contraction also took place when intervocalic i-consonant disappeared, as dę̄n (O.Fr. deien) *dean*, lę̄l (O.Fr. leiel) *loyal*, mę̄n (O.Fr. meien) *mean, middle*.

2. The Vowels of Pretonic Syllables.

§ 215. The O.Fr. and AN. pretonic vowels and diphthongs which became tonic (accented) through the shifting of the accent generally remained in ME. The short vowels were, however, generally lengthened before a following vowel and in open syllables of early borrowed words, but remained short in later borrowed words.

a. *The Simple Vowels.*

§ 216. a, ā, au:, as amorous, baroun, bataile, carpenter, chapę̄le, chariot, gardīn, manę̄re, palais, ravenous, taverne, travaien. ā-miable, ā-precock *apricot*, bācoun, bāsīn *basin*, flāvour, grācious, māsoun *mason*, nācioun *nation*, nātūre *nature*, pācient, see § 79 note 1. AN. ã was

denasalized to **a** before **nd**, **nt**, and **ng**, as **anguische**, **language**, **mantel**, **standard**. In other positions it had the same development as in accented syllables (§ 211), as **auncient**, **brandischen** beside **braundischen**, **chaumpion**, **chauncel**, **daungẹ̄r**, **raunsoun** *ransom*.

§ 217. **e**, **ẹ̄**:, as **lessoun**, **mercī**, **metal**, **nevew**, **perīl** beside **peril**, **plesaunt**, **present**, **secounde**; **aventūre**, **engīn**, **gentīl**, **plentẹ̄**, **tempeste**. **lẹ̄sīr**, **plẹ̄sir**, **rẹ̄sīn** *grape*, **rẹ̄soun** *reason*, see § 63 note. Before **r** + consonant we have **e** later **a** (§ 129), as **gerlaund**, **merchaunt**, **merveile**, **persoune**, **sermoun**, later **garlaund**, &c.

§ 218. **i**, **ī**:, as **citẹ̄**, **diner**, **finischen**, **pitẹ̄**, **scriptūre**, **vinẹ̄gre**. **gīaunt** *giant*, **līoun**, **squīer**. **pīlot**, **īvorie**.

§ 219. **o**:, as **comoun**, **folie** *folly*, **foreste**, **fortūne**, **gobelet**, **honouren**, **office**, **solas** *solace*, **torment**.

§ 220. **u**, **ū** (written **ou**, **ow**), as **buteler**, **butoun** *button*, **culour**, **glutoun**, **mutoun**, **sudain**, **supere**. **coward**, **dowere** **doure** *dowry*, **powere**, **towaile** *towel*; **bountẹ̄**, **counseil**, **countrẹ̄**, **fountaine**, **mountaine**.

§ 221. **ü**, **ṻ**. **ü** remained in early ME., but became **u** during the ME. period (cp. § 125), and **iu** was substituted for **ṻ** (cp. § 202), as **duchesse**, **juggement**, **punischen**, **studien** *to study*. **cruel** **crewel**, **humilitẹ̄**, **humour**, **surẹtẹ̄**, **usage**.

b. *The Diphthongs.*

§ 222. The pretonic diphthongs generally had the same development in ME. as the tonic (accented) diphthongs except that **ei** underwent weakening in medial syllables.

§ 223. **ai** was generally monophthongized to **ẹ̄**, but forms with **ai** also occur in ME., as **fẹ̄tūre** and **faitūre** *feature*, **rẹ̄soun** and **raisoun**, **sẹ̄soun** and **saisoun**, see §§ 63 note, 205; the **ai** remained before old palatal **l'**, as **tailour** *tailor*, see § 210.

§ 224. **ei**:, as **leisīr** *leisure*, **preiẹ̄re** *prayer*, **veiāge** (O.Fr. **voiāge**) *voyage*. **curtesie** beside older **curteisie**, **orisoun**

beside older **oreisoun**, **venisoun** beside older **veneisoun** (O.Fr. **venoison**).

§ 225. **ǫi** :, as **jǫious**.

§ 226. **ui** (written **oi**) :, as **oinoun** *onion*, **poisoun** *poison*.

§ 227. O.Fr. üi = AN. ū, for which the **iu**-sound was substituted in ME. (§ 202, 2), as **nuisaunce**.

§ 228. **au** :, as **auter** *altar*, **faucon** *falcon*, **saumoun** *salmon*, **sauvāge** (see § 213, 1).

§ 229. **eau**, **ęu** became **iu** (see § 112), as **beautę̄ beutę̄ bewtę̄** *beauty* ; **fewaile** *fuel*, **jewel** *jewel*.

3. The Vowels of Post-tonic and Unaccented Syllables generally.

§ 230. The vowel in post-tonic syllables was always **-e**, as in **chapę̄le**, **faute**, **justise**, **madāme**, **natūre**, **reine** *reign*. The final **-e** in these and similar words disappeared in pronunciation earlier in ME. than the **-e** in words of English origin (cp. §§ 141–2). This was especially the case after **st**, **ce** (= s) and after vowels, as **bę̄st**(e), **tempest**(e), **plāc**(e), **foli**(e) *folly*, **maladi**(e), **prei**(e) *prey*. In this respect Chaucer was behind the spoken language of his time. In his poetry the final **-e** was preserved in pronunciation, and he never allowed words ending in **-ce** (= s) to rhyme with those ending in **-s** nor those ending in **-ye** (-ie) with those ending in **-y**.

For the weakening down of long vowels and diphthongs which were accented in O.Fr. and AN., but became unaccented in ME. through the shifting of the principal accent, see §§ 186, 210.

§ 231. Initial **e-** disappeared before **s** + tenuis, as **Spaine**, **spȳen**, **staat** beside **estaat**, **stüdien**, **scāpen** beside **escāpen**, **squirel** (O.Fr. **escurel**). Initial vowels also often disappeared before other consonants, as **menden** beside **amenden**, **prentȳs** beside **aprentȳs**, **pistīl** beside **epistīl**.

Initial prefixes often disappeared, as **fenden** beside **defenden**, **steinen** beside **desteinen** *to stain*, **sport** beside **disport**, **saumple** beside **ensaumple**, &c.

§ 232. Medial vowels often disappeared between consonants, as **chimneie** beside **chimeneie** *chimney*, **kerchēf** beside **keverchēf**, **nortūre** beside **noritūre**, **pantrie** beside **panetrie** *pantry*, **palfrei** beside **palefrei**, &c., cp. § 154.

CHAPTER VI

THE ME. DEVELOPMENT OF THE OE. CONSONANT-SYSTEM

§ 233. OE. had the following consonant-system:—

	Labial.	*Inter-dental.*	*Dental.*	*Guttu-ral.*	*Pala-tal.*
Explosives	voiceless **p, pp**		**t, tt**	**c, cc**	**c, cc**
	voiced **b, bb**		**d, dd**	**g, gg**	**g, cg**
Spirants	voiceless **f, ff**	**þ, þþ**	**s, ss**	**h, hh**	**h, hh**
	voiced **f**	**þ**	**s**	**g**	**g**
Nasals	**m, mm**		**n, nn**	**n**	**n**
Liquids			**l, ll; r, rr**		
Semi-vowel	**w**				

To these must be added the aspirate **h**, and **x**. The double consonants were pronounced long as in Modern Italian and Swedish, thus **habban** = **hab·ban** *to have*, **swimman** = **swim·man** *to swim*. On the doubling of consonants in late ME., see § 12, and *ENE. Gr.* §§ 53–4.

§ 234. Many of the changes which the OE. consonant-system underwent in ME. were not sound-changes, but merely orthographical changes due to the influence of the Anglo-Norman system of orthography. Most of these changes have been stated in §§ 13–20, and others will be dealt with in the treatment of the separate consonants.

The sound-changes which the OE. consonants underwent in ME. were insignificant compared with the vowel-changes. In fact the consonants have changed comparatively little in the whole history of the language, whereas the vowels have been continuously on the change and still are so. It may therefore be said that the consonants in a language like English merely form, as it were, the framework of the language, and that the vowels are the clockwork or living organism. This is quite different from a language like French where the consonants equally with the vowels have undergone great and radical changes in passing from popular Latin to the French of the present day.

§ **235.** Before entering upon the history of the individual consonants in ME., it will be well to treat here several consonant-changes which are best dealt with collectively, viz. the voicing and unvoicing of consonants, the vocalization of consonants, assimilation, metathesis, the loss of consonants, and the development of glide consonants.

1. The Voicing of Consonants.

§ **236.** The initial voiceless spirants **f, s, þ** became the voiced spirants **v, z, ð** in late OE. or early ME. in Kentish and the southern, especially the south-western dialects, as **vader, vat, vlesch, vrend; zaule zǫule, zinne zenne zünne** *sin*, **ðat ðet, ðing.** The modern dialects show that this voicing of the initial voiceless spirants must have taken place at an early period, because it is almost exclusively confined to native words, hence the change must have taken place before the great influx of Anglo-Norman words into these dialects. The use of the initial voiced for the voiceless spirants is now obsolete in Ken., Sur., Sus., and obsolescent in s. Pem., Hamp., and the I. W., but it is still in general use in east Hrf., parts of Glo., west Brks., Wil., Som., and Dev. These modern dialects help to throw some light upon

the standard NE. voiced ð (written th) in pronouns and the adverbs related to them. There is no indication either in ME. or NE. to show when the þ· became voiced in such words, but the dialects of Sus., Ken., and s. Pem. show that it must have taken place pretty early, because in these dialects the þ· has become d·, although the forms with d· are now obsolescent in the two latter counties. Examples are: deə *their, there*, dem, den, di *the*, dis. These forms with d· show that the voicing of the þ· in pronominal and adverbial forms was older than the voicing of it in the other OE. words beginning with þ. See *ED. Gr.* §§ 278, 310, 320.

§ 237. In simple words the voiceless spirants f, s, þ became voiced between voiced sounds in early OE., although they were always retained in writing, and this rule was also preserved in ME., see *EOE. Gr.* § 139. Final ·s and ·þ became voiced after vowels during the ME. period in unaccented syllables, although the ·s, ·þ (·th) were retained in writing. And similarly in unaccented words like his, is, was.

2. The Unvoicing of Consonants.

§ 238. In early OE. the voiced spirants v (written f), ȝ became voiceless f, χ before voiceless sounds and finally, and this rule was also preserved in early ME., see §§ 266, 308, and *EOE. Gr.* § 140. When final ·e disappeared at an early period (§ 139) z, v and ð became unvoiced to s, f and þ, as bō̜þ̣, erþ̣, froþ̣, northern dialects rīs *to rise*, gif *to give*, luf *to love*, beside older rīse(n), give(n), luve(n).

The g in the combination ŋg became k (written c) before voiceless consonants in OE., but the g was generally restored through association with forms where the g was regular, as strencþ beside strengþ with g restored from strang strong (cp. *EOE. Gr.* § 140), whence such ME. double forms as lenkþ, strenkþ beside lengþ, strengþ, and forms with ŋk are still common in many of the modern dialects, see Index

to *ED. Gr.* There was also a tendency for final ŋg to become ŋk in some of the ME. dialects, especially in the north-west Midland, as in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*: ȝonk(e) *young*, rynk *ring*, þink *thing*, &c., and such forms are still common in some of the dialects of this area, see *ED. Gr.* § 274.

§ 239. In early OE. d became t before and after voiceless consonants. When two dentals thus came together, they became tt which were simplified to t finally and after consonants (*EOE. Gr.* § 140). This rule also remained as a characteristic feature of the southern dialects in the ME. period, as bintst beside older bīndest *thou bindest*, bitst beside older bidest *thou prayest*, bint from *bindþ, older bīndeþ *he binds*, bit from *bidþ, older bideþ *he prays*, &c. And in like manner the d also became t in the pp. of trisyllabic weak verbs after the loss of the -e- in the final syllable, as punischt, witnest beside older punisched, witnessed, see § 155. In ME. as in the modern dialects (cp. *ED. Gr.* §§ 303–4) there was a tendency to unvoice d to t in final unaccented syllables. This was especially the case in the preterite and past participle in the Scottish and west Midland dialects. For the unvoicing of d to t in the preterite and past participle of verbal stems ending in -ld, -nd, and -rd, see § 270. And in the west Midland dialects d also became t finally after l, n, r in monosyllables, as bę̄rt *beard*, felt *field*, pret. helt *held*, lont *land*, wint *wind*, &c.; the t in these and similar words has been preserved in many of the dialects of this area down to the present day, see *ED. Gr.* § 302.

3. The Vocalization of Consonants.

§ 240. The prefix ȝe- became i- through the intermediate stages ī-, ȝi-, which remained initially (also written y-), as iwis ywis (OE. gewiss) *certain*, iclad yclad *clothed*, but disappeared medially through the intermediate stage -e-, as neighbour, older nehhebour (OE. nēahgebūr), see § 153.

Medial palatal ȝ became **i** between **r** and a following vowel, as **burie(n)** **birie(n)** (OE. **byr(i)gan**) *to bury*, **murie** **mirie** (OE. **myr(i)ge**) *pleasant*, **terie(n)** (OE. **tergan**) *to annoy*, and similarly in French words, **carie(n)**, **contrarie**, **marie(n)**, **studie(n)**. Palatal ȝ became vocalized to **i** after vowels and then combined with a preceding vowel to form a diphthong of the **i**-type, see §§ **105**, **299**.

§ **241**. When **w** came to stand finally after consonants it became vocalized to **u**, as pl. **ȝarwe** (OE. **gearwe**) from which was formed a new sing. **ȝaru** *ready*, and similarly **holu** *hollow*, **naru** *narrow*, &c., see § **134** (*a*). Postvocalic old **w** became vocalized to **u**, and then combined with the preceding vowel to form a diphthong of the **u**-type, as **cheẹwen** (OE. **cēowan**) *to chew*, **knọwen** (OE. **cnāwan**) *to know*, **schẹwen** (OE. **scēawian**, later **sceáwian**) *to show*, beside northern **chẹu** (**chẹu**), **knau**, **schẹu**, see §§ **110**, 2, **111**. And in like manner **w** from OE. and early ME. guttural ȝ became vocalized to **u** after a guttural vowel and then combined with the preceding vowel to form a diphthong of the **u**-type, see §§ **105**, **298**.

§ **242**. **v** was vocalized to **u** (generally written **w**) when it stood or came to stand before a consonant through the loss of a medial unaccented vowel (§ **153**), as **awkward** from older ***avkward**, ***avuk-**, pl. **chaules** (OE. **cēaflas**) from which was formed a new singular **chaul** *cheek*, **crawlen** (ON. **krafla**) *to crawl*, **ẹwte** older **evete** (OE. **efete**) *newt*, pl. **hawkes** (OE. **hafocas**) from which a new singular **hawk** was formed, **nauger** older **naveger** (OE. **nafogār**) *auger*.

4. Assimilation.

§ **243**. Partial or total assimilation of dentals took place in unaccented particles, as **and tat** = **and þat**, **atte** = **at þe**, **þatte** = **þat þe**, and similarly with **þū** *thou* after verbal forms with simplification of the **tt**, as **artū** *art thou?*, **wiltū** *wilt*

thou?; these and similar forms are still a characteristic feature of the Modern northern and north Midland dialects, see *ED. Gr.* § 404. ln and nl became ll, as elle older elne (OE. eln) *ell*, mille older milne (OE. myln), ellevẹn(e) beside older enleven (OE. en(d)leofan) *eleven*. fm became mm, as lemman (OE. lēofman) *sweetheart*, wimman (OE. wimman beside wīfman) *woman*. n became m before f and p, as comfort (O.Fr. confort), hemp (OE. henep), noumpere (O.Fr. nonper) *umpire*. pf became ff, as chaffare (OE. *cēapfaru) *trade*.

5. Metathesis.

§ 244. The metathesis of r was common in OE., especially in the Northumbrian dialect. Already at that period antevocalic r often became postvocalic when a short vowel was followed by n, nn, s or s+consonant (*EOE. Gr.* § 143). ME. examples are: bird (OE. brid), briȝt (OE. beorht) *bright*, forst beside frost (OE. forst beside frost), hors (OE. hros), þirde (OE. þridda); asken beside axen = OE. āscian beside āxian *to ask*.

6. The Loss of Consonants.

§ 245. Postconsonantal w disappeared before back-rounded vowels, as alsǭ, ase (OE. ealswā), sǭ (OE. swā), soche suche beside swich (OE. swylc), sord beside sword, sǭte beside swǭte *sweet* adv., suster (OE. sweostor, § 38) *sister*, tǭ beside twǭ (OE. twā), þong beside þwong, hǭ beside whǭ (OE. hwā). It also disappeared in certain verbal forms with the negative prefix, as nas (OE. næs = ne wæs) *was not*, nille (OE. nille = ne wille) *will not*, and similarly niste *I knew not*, nǭt *I know not*, nolde *I would not*, &c.

§ 246. l disappeared in the Midland and southern dialects before and after ch = OE. palatal c, as ęch (OE. ælc) *each*, muche moche, miche (OE. mycel) *great*, suche soche, siche, swich (OE. swylc), which whuch (OE. hwylc),

beside northern **ilk, mikel, swilk, quilk.** It also disappeared in the unaccented particle **ase** beside the accented form **alsǭ** (OE. **ealswā**).

§ **247.** Final **-n** disappeared early in dissyllabic and trisyllabic nouns and adjectives in the Midland and southern dialects, but was often or generally restored again from the inflected forms, as **kinrēde, kindred** (OE. **cyn-rǣden**), **ēve** beside **ēven** *evening*, **maide(n)**. It had disappeared in Northumbrian during the OE. period in words of more than one syllable. This law was fairly well preserved in the infinitive, the present and preterite plural subjunctive, the weak declension of nouns and adjectives, numerals and adverbs, but in strong nouns and adjectives including the past participles of strong verbs, the final **-n** was generally reintroduced into the nom. singular from the inflected forms. It was also mostly reintroduced into the pret. indicative plural through the influence of the past participle, which itself was a new formation.

In early ME. the final **-n** disappeared in unaccented syllables except in the pp. of strong verbs in the northern and north Midland dialects. In the other Midland dialects it was mostly retained, especially in the present plural of the indicative, the infinitive, and the past participle of strong verbs. It was retained in the southern dialects in the weak declension of nouns and adjectives, whereas in the Kentish dialect it disappeared at an early period in the past participle of strong verbs, see § **147.** Final **-n** disappeared in the indefinite article and the possessive pronouns when the next word began with a consonant, as **ā, ǭ þing** (OE. **ān**), **nǭ þing** (OE. **nān**), **mī fader** (OE. **mīn**). When the next word began with a vowel the **-n** was run on to it, as **mī nēm** (OE. **mīn ēam**) *my uncle.*

§ **248.** Final **b** disappeared after **m** in the northern dialects about the beginning of the fourteenth century, as **dum** *dumb*, **lam** *lamb.* **f** disappeared in O.Fr. before final **-s**, as

nom. sing. **baillis** beside acc. **baillif**, whence ME. **bailli** beside **baillif**, **joli** beside **jolif**, **pensi** beside **pensif** *thoughtful*. The forms **baily** and **pensy** are still very common in the modern dialects. **v** from older **f** also disappeared before consonants, as **hę̄d** beside older **hę̄ved** (OE. **hēafod**) *head*, **lādi** from older **lavdie**, **lavedie** (OE. **hlǣfdige**) *lady*, **larke** from older **laverke** (§ 88), **lǭrd** from older **lǭverd** (OE. **hlāford**, **·ard**) *lord*. The common forms **þar** *I need*, **þarst**, **þar**, beside **þarf**, **þarft**, **þarf** were due to association with **dar** *I dare*, **darst**, **dar**.

§ 249. **t** disappeared before **st**, between **s** and **s** or **m**, as **best** (OE. **bet(e)st**), **laste** (OE. **latost**) *last*, **Wessex** (OE. **West-Seaxan**), **blosme** (OE. **blōstma** beside **blōsma**) *blossom*. **d** disappeared before **s**, as **answere** (OE. **and-swaru**), **gospel** beside older **godspel**, **gossib** beside older **godsib**. **þ** disappeared at the end of the first element of compounds, as **Norfolk** (OE. **Norþ-folc**), **Sussex** (OE. **Sūþ-seaxan**), **wurschipe** beside older **wurþschipe** *worship*. It also disappeared in the medial combinations **·þn·**, **·þr·** with lengthening of the preceding vowel, as **hĕ̄n** (ON. **heþan**) *hence*, **sĭ̄n**, **sĕ̄n** (OE. **siþþan**, **sioþþan**) *since*, **þĕ̄n** (ON. **þeþan**) *thence*, **whĕ̄r** *whether*, see § 76.

§ 250. Intervocalic **k** disappeared in the preterite and past participle **māde**, **mād** (**maad**) for older **mākede**, **māked**. From the pret. and pp. was then formed a new present **mā(n)** in the northern and north Midland dialects, after the analogy of which was also formed a new present **tā(n)** for **tāken**, see § 79 note 1. Final **·ch** disappeared in unaccented words and syllables in late ME., as **I** beside **ich**, **·ly** beside older **·liche**, as in **hevenly** beside **hevenliche**. Initial **h·** disappeared before **l**, **n**, **r**, but these combinations were often written **lh**, **nh**, **rh** in early ME., especially in Kentish, as **lę̄pen** (OE. **hlę̄apan**) *to leap*, **lauȝen** (Anglian **hlæhha(n)**) *to laugh*, **neien** (OE. **hnǣgan**) *to neigh*, **nute** (OE. **hnutu**) *nut*, **rāven** (OE. **hræfn**), **ring** (OE. **hring**).

7. The Development of Glide Consonants in ME.

§ 251. Glide consonants were developed, especially in the neighbourhood of nasals and **s**.

A **b** was developed between **m·l**, **m·r**, as **bremble** (OE. **brēmel**, gen. **brēmles**) *bramble*, **schamble** (OE. **sceamol**, gen. **sceam(o)les**), **þimble** (OE. **þȳmel**, gen. **þȳmles**), **slumbren** (OE. **slŭmerian**), and also after **m** in **croumbe** (OE. **crūma**) *crumb*, **þoumbe** (OE. **þūma**) *thumb*. A **p** was developed between **m·n**, **m·t**, as **nempnen** (OE. **nemnan**) *to name*, **empti** (OE. **ǣmtig**), and in French words like **autumpne** *autumn*, **dampnen** *to damn*, **solempne** *solemn*, **tempten** *to attempt*.

A **d** was developed between **l·r**, **n·r**, as **alder** (OE. **alr**, **alor**) *alder*, **þe alderbeste** (OE. **ealra betsta**) *the best of all*, and similarly **alderfirst**, **alderlast**; **kindred** (OE. **cynrǣden**), **þunder** (OE. **þunor**, gen. **þun(o)res**). **jaundice** beside **jaunice** (AN. **jaunisse**). A final **·t** was developed after **n** in AN. words, as **auncient** (O.Fr. **ancien**), and similarly **fesaunt**, **tiraunt**, **ribant** (**riband**) beside **riban** *ribbon*. A **t** was developed between **s** and **n** in **glistnen** (OE. **glisnian**), **listnen** (OE. **hlysnan**) *to listen*, and after final **·s**, as **aȝainest** beside older **aȝaines**, **bihēste** (OE. **behǣs**) *vow, promise*, **hēst** (OE. **hǣs**) *command*.

The Semivowels.

w

§ 252. OE. **ƿ** was still used occasionally until the thirteenth century, but in early ME. **w** was generally written **uu**, more rarely **vv**, and in northern manuscripts **u** after dentals and **s**. In late northern manuscripts it was often written **v**. **w** was introduced from the AN. alphabet in the thirteenth century, and OE. **cw** came to be written **qu**.

§ 253. OE. **w** remained initially before vowels, and generally also initially before and after consonants, as **warm** (OE. **wearm**), **weder** (OE. **weder**) *weather*, **wlank** (OE. **wlanc**) *proud*, **wrīten** (OE. **wrītan**), **twelf** (OE. **twelf**), and similarly **was, water, wę̄pen** *to weep*, **wīde, winter, wischen, wolf, wounde, wunder**, and similarly in AN. words, as **waiten, wāsten, werre** *war*, &c.; **wlite** *face, form*, **wrecche** *wretched*; **dwellen, swimmen, twig**; **quę̄ne** (OE. **cwēn**) *queen, woman*, **quik** (OE. **cwic**).

It also remained medially after consonants, as **wid(e)we** (OE. **wid(e)we**) *widow*, **medwe** beside **mę̄de** (OE. gen. **mædwe** beside nom. **mæd**) *meadow*, and similarly **holwe** *hollow*, **schadwe, swalwe**. For the vocalization and loss of **w** see §§ 241, 245.

§ 254. AN. **w** (= O.Fr. **gu**, later **g**, in words of Germanic origin) remained in ME., as **rewarden, wāge, waiten, wāsten, werre** *war*.

The O.Fr. combination **qu** = **kw** remained in ME. before **a, e, i**, but became **k** (c) before **o, u**, as **equal, qualitę̣, quarter, questioun**; but **cǫi, likour**.

Germanic j

§ 255. Germanic initial **j** had become a palatal spirant like the **y** in NE. **yet, you** in the oldest period of the language. This explains why it was written **g** in OE., and **ȝ**, later **y**, in ME., see *EOE. Gr.* §§ 150–1. The OE. sound remained initially in ME., as **ȝę̆** (OE. **gę̆**) *ye*, **ȝę̄r ȝę̄r** (OE. **gēar, gēr**) *year*, and similarly **ȝet ȝit** *yet*, **ȝif** *if*, **ȝok ȝǭke** *yoke*, **ȝong** *young*, **ȝouþe** *youth*. See § 240.

The Liǫuids.

l

§ 256. OE. and AN. **l** generally remained in all positions of the word, as **loud** (OE. **hlūd**), **fallen** (OE. **feallan**), **āle** (OE. **ealu**), **clę̄ne** (OE. **clæne**), **all** (OE. **eall**), **dę̄l** (OE. **dæl**),

and similarly lamb, lę̄pen, litel, loven; fillen, sellen, tellen, wolle; blǭd, flesch, folk, glad, helpen, milk, nę̄dle, silver, sǫule, stę̄len; foul, full, sadel; labour, langāge; blāmen, calme, delai, failen, tāble; crüel. For the loss of l see § 246.

r

§ 257. OE. and AN. r generally remained in all positions of the word, as roum (OE. rūm), bringen (OE. bringan), bę̄ren (OE. beran), hard (OE. heard), sterre (OE. steorra) *star*, fader (OE. fæder), and similarly rę̄d *red*, rein *rain*, rīden; arm, bāre, erþe *earth*, ferre *far*, grę̣ne, sprę̄den, strę̣m *stream*, trę̣, word, wrīten; better, fȳr *fire*, mǭder; rāge, round; chaumbre, fǫ̣rce, grāce, natūre, trouble; pūr. For the metathesis of r see § 244.

The Nasals.

m

§ 258. OE. and AN. m generally remained in ME., as mǭder (OE. mōdor) *mother*, clīmben (OE. climban), nāme (OE. nama), roum (OE. rūm), and similarly māken, man, mīn, mouþ; cǭmb, cumen, swimmen, tīme; bǭsem, botem, brǭm, faþem, helm, worm; maladie, moneie; chaumbre, damāge, lampe.

§ 259. Final -m, when an element of inflexion, became -n in late OE., as dat. pl. dagon, giefon, sunon beside older dagum, giefum, sunum; dat. sing. and pl. gōdon beside older gōdum. This change of final -m to -n was due to the levelling out of the -n in the n-stems into the dative plural, and from which it was then extended analogically to the other stems. The -n disappeared at an early period in ME. (cp. § 147). The old inflexional ending with -m was preserved in the ME. isolated form whīlom, the dat. pl. of OE. hwīl *time*, used adverbially.

n

§ 260. OE. and AN. dental n generally remained, as nāme (OE. nama), biginnen (OE. beginnan), sune (OE. sunu) *son*, stǭn *stone*, and similarly nę̄dle, niẓt; gnawen *to gnaw*, grę̄ne, henne, hound, knę̄, land, quę̄ne, senden, sunne *sun*; chin, toun; natūre, nǭble, nǫise; aunte, chaunce, point; baroun, vain. For the loss of final -n see §§ 147, 247.

ŋ

§ 261. OE. and AN. guttural ŋ (written n) remained, as bringen (OE. bringan), singen, pret. pl. sungen (OE. singan, sungon), tunge (OE. tunge), and similarly drinken, finger, king, lang long, þanken; anguische, frank, langāge, &c.

§ 262. OE. palatal ŋc (§ 286) and ŋg (§ 294) became ntš (written nch) and ndž (written ng), as benche (OE. benc), finch (OE. finc), þenchen (OE. þencan) *to think*; sengen singen (OE. sengean) *to singe*.

§ 263. In many dialects the OE. palatal combinations eŋc, eŋg became ein before d, t, þ with i to indicate the palatal nature of the n, the ei then later became e, as pret. meinde (OE. mengde) *he mixed*, dreinte (OE. drencte) *he drowned*, and similarly bleinte *he deceived*, seinde *he singed*, sleinde *he slung*, &c., leinten, later lenten (OE. lengten, lencten) *spring, Lent*, leinþe, lenþe (OE. lengþu), streinþe, strenþe (OE. strengþu). The forms lenþ strenþ are still the usual forms in all the dialects of Scotland and the northern counties. Cp. §§ 238, 295.

The Labials.

p

§ 264. OE. and AN. p generally remained in all positions of the word, as paþ (OE. pæþ), slę̄pen slę̄pen (OE. slǣpan, slēpan), dę̄p (OE. dēop), and similarly peni, pleien *to play*,

pound, prȩst, proud; cuppe, harpe, helpen, lippe, spȩken, steppen, wȩpen *to weep*; pret. halp, schip; part, plȩsen *to please*, present; lampe, purple, spāce.

b

§ 265. OE. and AN. b generally remained in all positions of the word, as bēren (OE. beran), brȩken (OE. brecan), ribbe (OE. ribb), web (OE. webb), and similarly baþ, bīnden, blak, bōn, bringen; clīmben, clubbe, ebbe, webbe *female weaver*; cǫmb, doumb *dumb*, gossib; bȩst, blāmen, boilen; chaumbre, labour, membre, tāble.

ME. hăven *to have*, hȩven *to raise, heave*, liven beside OE. habban, hebban, libban were new formations made from the present second and third pers. singular hafast, hafaþ, &c.

f

§ 266. OE. medial and final f had a twofold origin and a twofold pronunciation, see *EOE. Gr.* §§ 157–8.

1. Medially in combination with voiceless sounds, and finally, it was pronounced like NE. f, and corresponded to Germanic þ and f, as wīf (= OHG. wīb, NHG. weib), wulf (= OHG. wolf).

2. Medially between voiced sounds it was pronounced like the v in NE. vine, five, and corresponded to Germanic þ and f, as giefan (OHG. geban), pl. wulfas (OHG. wolfa). In early ME. the OE. voiced f was generally written u (rarely v). In the Scottish and northern dialects w was sometimes written for v in AN. words, as wertu, trawail.

1. OE. Voiceless f.

§ 267. OE. initial and final f, and f in combination with voiceless sounds, remained, as fader (OE. fæder), dȩf (OE. dēaf) *deaf*, fīf (OE. fīf) *five*, after (OE. æfter), and similarly

ferre *far*, fīnden, flȳen *to fly*, folk, frē̤sen *to freeze*, full; calf, lē̤f *leaf*, turf, twelf; gift, offren; also in AN. words, as fāce, frut (fruit); brē̤f *brief*, strīf. Forms like fīve beside fīf, grāve beside OE. græf, twelve beside older twelf were new formations from the inflected forms. For the voicing of initial f in Kentish and the southern dialects see § 236.

2. OE. Medial f = v.

§ 268. OE. medial f = v generally remained, as drīven (OE. drīfan), havest, haveþ (OE. hafast, hafaþ), and similarly bē̤ver, given (ȝiven), heven, knāve, loven, rāven, seven, sterven *to die*, wē̤ven; also in AN. words, as valour, verai; availen, avengen, serven. f from older v disappeared in the unaccented forms hast, haþ beside the accented forms havest, haveþ. For other examples of the loss of v see § 248. For the unvoicing of v see § 238, and for the vocalization of v to u (generally written w) see § 242.

The Dentals.

t

§ 269. OE. and AN. t generally remained in all positions of the word, as tāle (OE. talu), tunge (OE. tunge), bīten (OE. bītan), setten (OE. settan), what (OE. hwæt), and similarly tāken, tellen, tīme, toun, trē̤, twig; better, ē̤ten, fiȝten *to fight*, herte, resten, sitten, swē̤te, preterites like grette *he greeted*, kepte, slepte; fō̤t, mō̤st, niȝt *night*; tāble, tempest; douten *to doubt*, straunge; delīt *delight*.

Note.—1. c, z (also occasionally ȝ) were sometimes written for ts, as blecen (Orm blettsenn, OE. bletsian) *to bless*, milze, Orm millce (OE. milts) *mercy*.

2. In late ME. th was sometimes written for t in French words, as autour (O.Fr. auteur) later authour, tē̤me (O.Fr. tesme) later thē̤me, trō̤ne (O.Fr. trone) later thrō̤ne.

d

270. OE. and AN. d generally remained in all positions of the word, as dai (OE. dæg), drinken (OE. drincan), bidden (OE. biddan), bīnden (OE. bindan), fader (OE. fæder), dēd (OE. dēad), and similarly dēp, dǫuȝter *daughter*, dwellen; bodi, bladder, fīnden, fōlden, sadel, þunder, weder *weather*, wīlde; bed, fēld, god, hard, land, ōld, word; dāme, daungēr; maladie, pardoun; round. But single d between a vowel and a following vocalic r (written er) began to become ð in native words from the beginning of the fifteenth century, as father, gather(en), wether *weather*, from older fader, gaderen, weder, see *ENE. Gr.* § 230. The t in the preterite and pp. of verbal stems ending in -l, -ll, -ld, -rd, -m, -n, -nd was due to the analogy of preterites and past participles like kepte, kept; mette, met; kiste, kist, where the t was regular, as biltę (OE. bylde), bilt; dwelte, dwelt; felte, felt; girte, girt; dremte, dremt; blente, blent *blended*, sente, sent. For the unvoicing of d see § 239.

þ

§ 271. OE. þ (ð) had a twofold pronunciation, see *EOE. Gr.* § 139.

1. Initially, medially when doubled, and finally it was pronounced like the th in NE. thin.

2. Medially between voiced sounds it was pronounced like the th in NE. then.

In the fourteenth century th gradually came to be used beside þ, but the þ continued to be written beside th, especially initially, throughout the ME. period. In the best manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* th is generally used (cp. § 20).

1. Voiceless þ.

§ 272. OE. voiceless þ generally remained, as þing (OE. þing), þrēd þrēd (OE. þrǣd) *thread*, kiþþe (OE. cȳþþu)

kindred, dę̄þ (OE. dēaþ) *death*, and similarly þanken, þenken þinken, þorn; wraþþe; baþ, mouþ, tǭþ. The pret. quod beside quoþ had d from the old plural. For the voicing of initial þ in the Kentish and southern dialects see § 236, and of final ·þ in unaccented syllables, see § 237.

§ 273. þ became t after voiceless spirants, as drouȝte (OE. drūgoþ) *drought*, heiȝte (OE. hīehþu) *height*, leste (OE. þȳ lǣs þe) *lest*, nosterl beside older nosþyrl *nostril*, siȝte (OE. gesihþ) *sight*, þefte (OE. þēofþ, þīefþ) *theft*.

2. Voiced þ.

§ 274. OE. voiced þ generally remained, as brǭþer (OE. brōþor), leþer (OE. leþer) *leather*, and similarly bāþen, biquę̄þen, blīþe, faþem, hę̄þen *heathen*, ǭþer, sę̄þen *to seethe*, &c. The pret. coude beside couþe *could* was a new formation after the analogy of the other preterites in ·de. For the unvoicing of þ see § 238.

§ 275. þ became d before and after liquids, as aforden beside older aforþen (OE. geforþian), burdene beside older burþene (OE. byrþenn), and similarly fiddle, murdren *to murder*.

The Sibilant s.

§ 276. OE. s had a twofold pronunciation, see *EOE. Gr.* § 139.

1. It was voiceless initially, medially when doubled, and in combination with voiceless consonants, and finally. In ME. the letter c was sometimes used for s initially and in AN. words both initially and medially (cp. § 24). sc was also sometimes written for ss, as blescen bliscen = blessen *to bless*. The OE. final ·s which in ME. became voiced after voiced sounds in unaccented syllables (§ 237) was sometimes written ȝ, as heggeȝ *hedges*.

2. It was voiced (= z) medially between voiced sounds. In early ME. voiced s was only occasionally written z, but the z became more common in late ME.

1. Voiceless s.

§ 277. OE. and AN. voiceless s generally remained, as senden (OE. sendan), spẹ̄ken (OE. specan, older sprecan), fist (OE. fȳst), kissen (OE. cyssan), hous (OE. hūs), and similarly sand, singen, slẹ̄pen, smal, sonne *sun*, standen, strong, swẹ̄te *sweet*; asken, asse; hors, mous, was; sāven, cẹ̄sen *to cease*, spāce, stout; deceiven, họ̄st, passen; cās *case*, pẹ̄s *peace*. For the voicing of initial s- in the Kentish and southern dialects, and of final -s in unaccented syllables, see §§ 236–7.

Note.—Initial sl- was sometimes written scl-, as sclẹ̄pen, sclain, sclender beside slẹ̄pen, slain, slender.

§ 278. AN. -(i)ss- became -(i)sch- in ME., as punischen (O. Fr. punir : puniss-), and similarly anguische, cherischen, finischen, perischen, &c. See § 289 note.

2. Voiced s.

§ 279. OE. and AN. voiced s remained, as frẹ̄sen (OE. frēosan) *to freeze*, rīsen (OE. rīsan), and similarly bẹ̄sme *besom*, chẹ̄sen *to choose*, rọ̄se; desīr, plẹ̄sen, prisoun, visāge, visiten, &c., cp. § 18. For the unvoicing of z (written s) see § 238.

The Gutturals.

k

§ 280. Germanic k became differentiated into a guttural and a palatal k in OE., generally written c in both cases. For the cause of this differentiation see *EOE. Gr.* § 166.

1. OE. Guttural c.

§ 281. OE. guttural c remained in ME., and was generally written c before guttural vowels and l, r, and k before palatal vowels, n, and finally, and cw was generally written qu (§ 14),

as **kichene** (OE. cycene), **kissen** (OE. cyssan), **cǭl** (OE. cōl) *cool*, **corn** (OE. corn), **cumen** (OE. cuman), **bāken** (OE. bacan), **sinken** (OE. sincan), **spę̄ken** (OE. specan, older sprecan), **blak** (OE. blæc), **bǭk** (OE. bōc), and similarly **biquę̄þen**, **can**, **keie** *key*, **kę̄ne**, **kę̄pen**, **king**, **clę̄ne**, **clīmben**, **knę̄**, **knǭwen**, **cǭld**, **cǭmb**, **craft**, **crę̄pen**, **quę̄ne**, **cou** *cow*, **cuppe**; **brę̄ken**, **drinken**, **māken**; **stikke sticke**, **þikke þicke** (see § 14); **bak**, **dark**, **folk**, **milk**, **work**; also written **c** in AN. words, as **cacchen** *to catch*, **colour**, **commoun**, **doctour**, **escāpen**, &c.

OE. Palatal c.

282. There is still some difference of opinion among scholars about what was the normal development of the OE. palatal **c** in ME. Some scholars assume that it became assibilated to **tš** in the Midland and southern dialects some time during the OE. period, but that in the northern dialects the palatalization was given up and that consequently no assibilation took place. They explain the **tš**-forms in the northern dialects as being importations from the other dialects, and conversely the **k**-forms in the Midland and southern dialects as being importations from the northern dialects. This explanation can hardly be the correct one, because the **tš**-forms in the oldest records of the northern dialects are so numerous, and such common everyday words, that they cannot all have been importations from the other dialects, especially at such an early period. Other scholars assume that OE. palatal **c** became assibilated to **tš** in all the dialects (but see § 284), and that the **k**-forms in ME. and standard NE. are either Scandinavian words (cp. § 174) or are due to Scandinavian influence caused by the Scandinavian element of the population substituting the **k**-sound for the **tš** with which they were unfamiliar, and that then some of these **k**-forms gradually spread beyond the Scandinavian area. This explanation is probably the correct one. It is

also possible that forms like þenken (OE. þencan) *to think*, þinken (OE. þyncan) *to seem*, sẹ̄ken (OE. sēcan) *to seek*, beside þenchen, þinchen, sẹ̄chen were new formations from the early OE. syncopated forms like þencþ, þyncþ, sēcþ (see *EOE. Gr.* § 319) with regular change from the palatal to the guttural c.

§ 283. In some southern texts ch was written for OE. palatal c in all positions as far back as the twelfth century. In the early ME. period the tš was written ch, and medially when doubled cch. Later it was written tch medially and finally. Examples are:—chẹwen (OE. cēowan) *to chew*, chīld (OE. cild), chin (OE. cinn), chicken (OE. cīcen, gen. cīcnes), fecchen (OE. feccean beside fetian), tẹ̄chen (OE. tǣcan) *to teach*, birche (OE. birce), and similarly chẹ̄ke, chẹ̄p, cheris *cherry*, chẹ̄se, chīden, chile; bẹ̄che *beech*, kichene, strecchen, chirche, crucche, hevenliche, spẹ̄che, wicche *witch*, wrecche; dich, pich.

Note.—In kerven (OE. ceorfan) *to carve* the k of the pret. pl. and pp. was levelled out into the present.

§ 284. Assibilation did not take place initially in the Anglian area before ME. ă from early OE. (Anglian) æ = WS. ea, as caf (Angl. cæf) : chaf (WS. ceaf) *chaff*, and similarly calf : chalf, cāld cọ̄ld : chāld chẹ̄ld *cold* (§ 71), calk : chalk.

§ 285. In a number of words k- and ch-forms exist side by side. The k-forms occur chiefly, but not exclusively, in the ME. period in those areas where Scandinavian influence was greatest, as ic ik : ich (OE. ic) *I*, ilk : ẹ̄ch (OE. ǣlc) *each*, līk : līche (OE. līc) *like*, mikel : miche muche (OE. mycel), sẹ̄ken : sẹ̄chen (OE. sēcan), swilk : siche suche swich (OE. swylc), þenken : þenchen (OE. þencan) *to think*, þinken : þinchen (OE. þyncan) *to seem*, quilk : which (OE. hwylc), wirken : wirchen (OE. wyrcan) *to work* (cp. § 282). For further examples see § 174.

In AN. words we also sometimes have **k-** and **ch-** side by side, because in the dialects of north Normandy and Picardy the **k-** remained unassibilated, as **calengen : chalengen** *to challenge*, **calice : chalice**, **catel : chatel** *property*.

§ 286. Palatal ɒc became **ntš** (written **nch**), as **benche** (OE. **benc**), **þenchen** (OE. **þencan**) *to think*, and similarly **finch, þinchen** *to seem*, **wenche**, see § 262.

§ 287. In many dialects the palatal combination **-eɒc-** became **-ein-** before **t**, with **i** to indicate the palatal nature of the combination, as **dreinte** (OE. **drencte**) *he drowned*, **leinten** later **lenten** (OE. **lengten, lencten**) *spring, Lent*, see § 263.

§ 288. AN. **ch** (= **tš**) remained in ME., as **chaumbre, charge, chaunce; achēven, prechen** *to preach*, **touchen**, &c.

sc

§ 289. In the oldest period of the language **sc**, like **k**, was guttural or palatal according as it was originally followed by a guttural or a palatal vowel (*EOE. Gr.* § 167), but some time during the OE. period the guttural **sc** became palatal, except in loan-words. **sc** became **š** in late OE. or early ME. In early ME. it was generally written **sch** or sometimes **sh** as in the *Ormulum*, also medially and finally **ssh, sch**, later **sh**, in the *Cursor Mundi* **sc**, and in Kentish **ss**. Examples are:—**schaft** (OE. **sceaft**), **schēld** (OE. **scield**), **schilling** (OE. **scilling**), **waschen** (OE. **wascan**), **fisch** (OE. **fisc**), and similarly **schāde, schal, scharp, schęwen** *to show*, **schīnen, schort; asche, wischen; englisch, flesch.** West Midland and south-western dialects **aschen** (OE. **āscian, āxian**, § 244) beside **asken** with later metathesis again of **ks** = **x** in the other dialects, and similarly **tusch** beside **tusk** = OE. **tusc** beside **tux**. For **sc** in loan-words see §§ 161, 175.

Note.—In the northern dialects the **š**, of whatever origin, became **s** in unaccented syllables, as **felasip** *fellowship*, **inglis**

English, and similarly in AN. words, as **blemis** *blemish*, **finis** *to finish*, &c. (cp. § 278). It also became **s** in unaccented words, as **sąl** *shall*, **suld** *should*, which are still the usual—now accented—forms in the modern northern dialects, see *ED. Gr.* § 337.

g, ȝ

§ **290.** Germanic ȝ became **g** after ŋ during the prim. Germanic period. ȝj and ȝn became **gg** in West Germanic. Germanic ȝ remained a spirant in all other positions in the oldest period of OE. Germanic initial and medial ȝ became differentiated in prehistoric OE. into a guttural and a palatal voiced spirant under the same conditions as those by which Germanic **k** became differentiated into a guttural and a palatal explosive, see *EOE. Gr.* § 168.

§ **291.** Initial guttural ȝ remained in the oldest period of the language, but had become the voiced explosive **g** before the end of the OE. period. And then the **g** remained in ME. (cp. § 16), as **gaderen** (OE. **gaderian**) *to gather*, **gāte** (OE. pl. **gatu**), **glad** (OE. **glæd**), **gǭd** (OE. **gōd**), **ground** (OE. **grund**), and similarly **gilden, gilt** *guilt*, **glǭf** *glove*, **god, gǭn gān** *to go*, **gǭs, gnawen, gras.** AN. **g** remained in ME. both initially and medially, as **gai, grāce, tīgre, vigour.**

§ **292.** OE. initial palatal ȝ remained a spirant (= the **y** in NE. **yet, yon**) in ME., and was written ȝ later **y**, as **ȝaf** (OE. **geaf**) *he gave*, **ȝard, ȝerd** (OE. **geard**), **ȝę̄lden** (OE. **gieldan**) *to recompense*, and similarly **ȝellen, ȝelwe** *yellow*, **ȝernen, ȝesterdai, forȝę̆ten forȝiten.** In OE. the guttural and palatal ȝ often existed side by side in different forms of the same word, and then at a later period one or other of the forms became generalized, as OE. pl. **gatu** beside sing. **geat**, whence ME. **gāte** beside **ȝat, ȝet** (cp. § 176). And similarly ME. **biginnen** had its **g** from the preterite and past participle. In a few words the English and Scandinavian forms existed side by side in ME., as **forȝę̆ten forȝiten** (OE. **forgietan**) beside **gę̆ten** (ON. **geta**), and

similarly ȝe̯ven, ȝiven beside given, northern gif, ȝift beside gift, see § 176.

§ 293. Initial ȝi- became i- (later written y-) through the intermediate stage ī-, as icchen, older ȝicchen (OE. gicc(e)an) *to itch*, if beside older ȝif. And similarly the OE. prefix ge- became ȝi- and then later i- (y-), see § 240, as iwis ywis (OE. gewiss) *certain*, inǫuȝ ynǫuȝ (OE. genōg, genōh) *enough*, and in past participles, as islain, iclad. This prefix of the pp. generally disappeared in the northern dialects and often also in the Midland.

§ 294. The g in the combination ŋg remained guttural or became palatal in OE. according as it was originally followed by a guttural or a palatal vowel or j (*EOE. Gr.* § 168).

OE. guttural ŋg (written ng) remained in ME., as bringen (OE. bringan), hunger (OE. hungor), lang lǫng (OE. lang, long), and similarly England, finger, singen, tonge tunge; king, ring, þing.

OE. palatal ŋg became assibilated to ndž (written ng) in late OE. or early ME., as crengen (OE. *creng(e)an) *to cringe*, sengen singen (OE. seng(e)an) *to singe*.

§ 295. In many dialects the OE. palatal combination -eŋg- became -ein- before d, þ with i to denote the palatal nature of the n. The ei then later became e, as pret. meinde (OE. mengde) *he mixed*, leinþe later lenþe (OE. lengþu) *length*, streinþe later strenþe (OE. strengþu) *strength*, see §§ 238, 263.

§ 296. West Germanic gg became differentiated into guttural gg and palatal gg in OE. under the same conditions as those by which Germanic k became differentiated into a guttural and palatal explosive.

OE. guttural gg remained in ME., as dogge (OE. dogga), and similarly frogge, hogge, stagge, and also in ON. loanwords like draggen *to drag, draw*, haggen *to hew*, waggen *to wag, shake*, &c.

OE. palatal gg (written cg, often also cge, cgi) became

assibilated to dž in late OE. or early ME., and was written gge later dge, as brigge (OE. brycg), cuggele (OE. cycgel), and similarly egge, hegge, migge, rigge, wegge. The southern dialects had the regular forms in the verbs, as biggen büggen beggen (OE. bycgan) *to buy*, leggen (OE. lecg(e)an) *to lay*, and similarly liggen *to lie down*, seggen ziggen (Ken.) *to say*, but bȳen *to buy*, leien *to lay*, lȳen *to lie down*, seien sai *to say*, in the Midland and northern dialects were new formations from the second and third pers. sing. of the present.

Note.—There is both in ME. and in the modern dialects of the northern, Midland and eastern counties a number of words with the explosive g where we should regularly expect dž, as brig, fligd *fledged*, lig *to lie down*, rig *back, ridge*, seg *sedge*. The g in these words is no doubt due to Scandinavian influence as the forms only occur in those areas where that influence was strong, cp. § 235.

§ 297. The dž (written j, g initially and g, gg medially) remained in AN. words, as cāge, chargen; generāl, joinen, juge, juggen, plege plegge.

§ 298. OE. medial guttural ȝ (written g) remained in early ME. after guttural vowels and liquids, but became vocalized to u-consonant (written w) before the end of the twelfth century except in Kentish where the change did not take place until about 1400, and then the w combined with a preceding guttural vowel to form a diphthong of the u-type, but ū (written ou, ow) if the preceding vowel was ŭ, as draȝen, drawen (OE. dragan) *to draw*, haȝe, hawe (OE. hagu) *haw*, see § 110, 3; āȝen, awe, o̧wen (OE. āgan) *to possess*, see § 110, 4 and § 113, 3; bo̧ȝe, bo̧ue bo̧we (OE. boga) *bow*, pl. tro̧ȝes, tro̧wes (OE. trogas) *troughs*, see § 113, 2; pl. bō̧ȝes, bo̧wes (OE. bōgas) *boughs*, drō̧ȝen, dro̧wen (OE. drōgon) *they drew*, see § 114, 2 (*b*); fuȝel, fūel, fou(e)l (OE. fugol) *bird, fowl*, see § 122, 5; būȝen, būen, bouen bowen (OE. būgan) *to bend*, see § 122, 6; belo̧wes

(OE. pl. belgas) *bellows* (cp. § 152, 2), berȝen, berwen (OE. beorgan) *to protect*; folȝen, folwen (OE. folgian) *to follow*, halȝen, halwen (OE. hālgian) *to hallow*, morȝen, morwe(n) (OE. morgen) *morning, morrow*, sorȝe, sorwe (OE. sorh, sorg, gen. sorge) *sorrow*, swelȝen, swelwen, swolwen (OE. swelgan) *to swallow*, wirȝen, wirwen (OE. wyrgan) *to strangle*.

§ 299. The vocalization of palatal ȝ to i-consonant took place already in late OE. after palatal vowels finally and before consonants, and in early ME. also medially between vowels, and then the i-consonant combined with a preceding palatal vowel to form a diphthong of the i-type, but ī if the preceding vowel was ĭ, as mai (OE. mæg, later mæi) *he may*, maȝen, main (OE. mægen) *power*, saide (OE. sægde) *he said*, see § 106; wei (OE. weg, later wei) *way*, pleȝen, pleien (OE. plegian) *to play*, see § 107, 1; clei (OE. clǣg) *clay*, pret. pl. leien (OE. lǣgon) *they lay*, see § 107, 5; dēȝen, deien, dīen (late OE. dēgian) *to dye*, ēȝe, eie, ȳe (late OE. ēge) *eye*, flēȝen, fleien, flȳen (late OE. flēgan, earlier flēogan) *to fly*, see §§ 107, 6, 108; stiȝele, stīle (OE. stigel) *style*, see § 122, 1; stīȝen, stīen (OE. stīgan) *to ascend*, see § 122, 2.

For the vocalization of OE. final -ig in unaccented syllables and of g between r and a following vowel see §§ 138, 240.

h

§ 300. OE. initial h (except in the combination hw) was an aspirate like the h in NE. hand, but with a strong emission of breath between the h and the following vowel or consonant. Initial hw was pronounced χw, like the wh in many modern Scottish dialects. In all other positions h, including hh, was a guttural or a palatal spirant according as it was originally followed by a guttural or a palatal vowel or j, cp. *EOE. Gr.* §§ 166, 174.

§ 301. OE. initial **h** remained in ME. before accented vowels, as **hous** (OE. hūs), **hę̄len** (OE. hælan) *to heal*, and similarly **hām hǭm** *home*, **hand hond, hard, hāre** *hare*, **helpen, herte** *heart*, **hound**. But before unaccented vowels it often disappeared, especially in pronominal forms, as **em, im, it** beside accented **hem** *them*, **him, hit**; and in unaccented forms it was sometimes wrongly inserted, as **hart, his** = **art** (v.), **is**. This indicates that the **h-** either had a very weak articulation or had ceased to be pronounced.

§ 302. AN. initial **h** was not pronounced, and accordingly it was often omitted in the writing of such loan-words as **habit abit, hāste āste, heire eire** *heir*, **honest onest, honour onour, houre oure** *hour*.

§ 303. OE. **hw** came to be written **qu, qv, quh, qw, qwh** in the northern dialects, especially the Scottish, and **wh** in the Midland and southern dialects (cp. § 17). This difference in the spelling indicates that the **χ** in **χw** was pronounced with greater force in the northern than in the other dialects, and it is also attested by the modern dialects which have **χw** in the former, but **w** in the latter, see *ED. Gr.* § 240. Examples are: **what : quat qvat quhat** (OE. hwæt), **whǭ whǭ : quā qvā quhā** (OE. hwā), and similarly **whīle, whīte**, &c.

§ 304. Initial **h-** disappeared before **l, n, r**, but these combinations were often written **lh, nh, rh** in early ME., especially in Kentish, as **lę̄pen** (OE. hlēapan) *to leap*, **nute** (OE. hnutu) *nut*, **ring** (OE. hring), and similarly **ladder, lauȝen** *to laugh*, **lid, lǭf** *loaf*, **lot, neien** *to neigh*, **rāven**, &c.

§ 305. Medial and final **hs** (= **χs**) had become **ks** (written **x**) in the oldest period of the language, as **waxen** (OE. **weaxan**, Goth. **wahsjan**) *to grow*, **six** (OE. **siex, six**, Goth. **saíhs**) *six*, and similarly **flax, fox, oxe**, &c.

§ 306. Intervocalic **h** (= Germanic **χ**) disappeared in the prehistoric period of the language (*EOE. Gr.* § 144). OE.

medial **hh** was simplified to **h** in ME. and was written **ȝ, ȝh, gh, hȝ,** &c., as **lauȝen laughen** (Anglian **hlæhha(n)**) beside **liȝhen lihȝen leihȝen** (early WS. **hliehhan,** later **hlihhan, hlyhhan**) *to laugh*, **cǫuȝen cǫughen** (OE. **cohhettan**) *to cough.*

§ 307. The **h** in the OE. combination **ht** was guttural or palatal according as it was preceded by a guttural or a palatal vowel, and this distinction was generally preserved in ME., see §§ 107, 4 ; 110, 5, 6 ; 113, 4, 5. In ME. the **ht** was generally written **ȝt, ȝht, ght,** rarely **ct.** Examples are : **dǫuȝter dǫughter** (OE. **dohtor**) *daughter*, pp. **fǫuȝten fǫughten** (OE. **fohten**) *fought*, pret. **bǫuȝte bǫughte** *he bought*, pp. **bǫuȝt bǫught** (OE. **bohte, boht**), and similarly **brǫuȝte, brǫuȝt ; sǫuȝte, sǫuȝt ; wrǫuȝte, wrǫuȝt. auȝt aught, aȝt aght** (OE. **āht**) *aught, anything*, pret. **teiȝte teighte** (OE. **tæhte**) beside **tauȝte, taȝte,** Orm **tahhte** (OE. **tāhte**) *he taught*, pret. **fauȝt, faȝt** (late Anglian **fæht**) beside **feiȝt** (late WS. **feht**) *he fought*, **auȝte aughte, aȝte aghte** (late Anglian **æhta**) beside **eiȝte eighte** (late WS. **ehta**) *eight*, and similarly **lauȝter laughter, slauȝter slaughter, strauȝte straughte** *he stretched.* **feiȝten feighten** older **fehten** beside **fiȝten** (Orm **fihhten**) *to fight.* For examples of late OE. **i + ht** see § 46.

Note.—The palatal spirantal element began to disappear in pronunciation from about the end of the fourteenth century in the south Midland and southern dialects, and the guttural spirantal element began to disappear or become **f** in these dialects during the fifteenth century.

§ 308. OE. postvocalic final **·h,** which was guttural or palatal according as it was preceded by a guttural or a palatal vowel, generally remained in ME. and was written **h, ȝ, ȝh, gh,** and occasionally **c, g,** see §§ 107, 4 ; 109 ; 110, 5 ; 113, 4 ; and 114, 115. Examples are : **dāȝ dāgh, dǫuȝ dǫugh** (OE. **dāh, dāg**) *dough*, pret. **sauȝ saugh, saȝ sagh** (late Anglian **sæh**) beside **seiȝ seigh** (late WS. **seh**) *he saw.* **trǫuȝ trǫugh**

(OE. **troh, trog**) *trough.* **bǫu3 bǫugh** later **bǫ̇u3 bǫugh** (OE. **bōh**) *bough* (§ **114**, 2), and similarly **inǫu3 inǫugh, plǫu3 plǫugh, þǫu3 þǫugh** *though.* **hei3 heigh** beside **hī3 hīgh** (late OE. **hēh**) *high,* **þei3 þeigh** beside **þī3 þīgh** (late OE. **þēh**) *thigh.* ME. **fē** *cattle, money* beside **feh fei3** (OE. **feoh,** gen. **fēos**) was a new formation from the inflected forms where intervocalic **h** regularly disappeared (*EOE. Gr.* § 144), and similarly **schǭ** (OE. **scōh,** gen. **scōs**) *shoe.*

§ **309.** OE. final **-h** after liquids generally remained in ME., as **þurh þur3** (OE. **þurh**) *through,* cp. § **241.** Forms like **holu** *hollow* beside **hol3** (OE. **holh,** gen. **holwes**) were new formations from the inflected forms, and similarly with forms like **sę̄le** (OE. **seolh,** gen. **sēoles**) *a seal* (cp. § **134** (*a*)).

ACCIDENCE

CHAPTER VII

THE DECLENSION OF NOUNS

§ 310. ME. nouns have two numbers: singular and plural; three genders: masculine, feminine, and neuter; four cases: nominative, accusative, genitive, and dative. The vocative is like the nominative, as in OE.

§ 311. In ME. as in OE. nouns are divided into two great classes, according as the stem originally ended in a vowel or a consonant. Nouns whose stems originally ended in a vowel belong to the vocalic or so-called strong declension. Those whose stems originally ended in -n belong to the so-called weak or n-declension. All other consonantal stems are generally put together under the general heading 'Minor Declensions'.

§ 312. In OE. nouns whose stems originally ended in a vowel are subdivided into four declensions. The first or **a**-declension comprises masculine and neuter nouns only, and includes pure **a**-stems, **ja**-stems, and **wa**-stems. The second or **ō**-declension contains feminine nouns only, and includes pure **ō**-stems, **jō**-stems, and **wō**-stems. The third or **i**-declension comprises masculine, feminine, and neuter nouns. The fourth or **u**-declension comprises masculine and feminine nouns only. The neuter nouns of the **a**-declension had the same case-endings in the singular and plural as the masculine, except that the nominative and accusative plural of the neuter nouns ended in **-u** (**-o**) or had no ending, and the masculine nouns ended in **-as**. In the plural the genitive had the ending **-a** (**-en-a**) and the dative the ending **-um** in all four declensions (see § 259).

§ 313. These declensions underwent such radical changes in passing from OE. to ME. that in ME. it is no longer practicable to classify the strong declension of nouns according to the vowels in which the stems originally ended. We shall therefore adopt the plan of subdividing it into three declensions according to the gender of the nouns in OE., viz. (1) the declension of masculine nouns, (2) the declension of neuter nouns, and (3) the declension of feminine nouns. The chief cause of the breaking up of the OE. system of the declension of nouns was that in passing from OE. to ME. all the OE. vowels of the case-endings were weakened to e (§ 134). The result of this weakening of all vowels to e was that many different case-endings fell together, and that in some instances different declensions fell entirely together, e.g. the feminine ō- and u-declensions, the declension of the masculine and feminine weak nouns.

§ 314. With this weakening of all the vowels to e is also closely connected the loss of grammatical gender in nouns, which was partly due to the breaking up of the old declensions themselves, and partly to the weakening or loss of the inflexional endings in the definite article, the demonstrative pronouns, and the adjectives. It was in a great measure due to the changes which these latter parts of speech underwent in late OE. and early ME. that grammatical gender had become lost in all the dialects by about the end of the fourteenth century ; cp. the opposite process in MHG. and NHG., where grammatical gender has been mainly preserved through the preservation of the inflexional endings in these parts of speech. This loss of grammatical gender did not take place concurrently in all the dialects. The process began much earlier in the northern than in the other dialects. Even in the OE. period both the gender and declension of nouns fluctuated considerably in the Northumbrian as compared with the other dialects. It had almost entirely disappeared in the Midland dialects by the end of the twelfth or

early part of the thirteenth century, in the south-western dialects by the middle of the thirteenth century, and in the south-eastern dialects, including Kentish, in the latter part of the fourteenth century.

§ 315. One of the most characteristic differences between OE. and ME. is the breaking up of the old system of declensions, the substitution of natural for grammatical gender, and the gradual spreading of the endings of the genitive singular and of the nominative and accusative plural of the old masculine **a**-declension to the types of nouns which did not regularly have these endings in OE., viz. to the **ō**-stems, the feminine and neuter **i**-stems, the **u**-stems, the **n**-stems, most of the other old consonant stems, and the plural of the old neuter **a**-stems. Some of these changes began to take place during the late OE. period, especially in Northumbrian. Even at that early period the plural ending **-as** of the masculine **a**- and **i**-declensions was often extended to the neuter **a**-stems, the masculine short **u**-stems, and the masculine nouns belonging to the 'Minor Declensions', and in late Northumbrian it also began to be extended to the feminine **ō**- and **i**-stems as well as to the **n**-stems after the loss of the final **-n** in the tenth century. In late OE. the plural ending in **-en** (**-an**) was sometimes even extended to old strong nouns. This was especially common in the southern dialects.

§ 316. This gradual extension of the **s**-plural was continued during the ME. period until it eventually became general for all classes of nouns except a few old neuter **a**-stems (§ 331), and mutated plurals like **fēt, men** (§ 346), but this radical change in the formation of the plural did not take place at the same pace in all the dialects. In the northern and north Midland dialects it had spread to all classes of nouns by the end of the twelfth century. In the south Midland dialects it had become the general rule from about 1250 for strong nouns of all genders, and often also for weak nouns. Many

weak nouns, however, preserved the old plural ending in -n, which was also sometimes extended to the strong nouns, but by the time of Chaucer the s-plural had with few exceptions been extended to all classes of nouns. In the southern dialects the history of the formation of the plural was somewhat different from that in the other dialects. The neuter nouns of the a-declension took the plural ending -es in early ME., but strong feminines and the masculine short i- and u-stems gradually took the n-plural after the analogy of the weak nouns. During the thirteenth century the reverse process set in, and from then onwards the s-plural gradually encroached upon the n-plural and through the loss of the final -e-n towards the end of the fourteenth century it rapidly gained ground until in the fifteenth century it became general for all classes of nouns.

§ 317. In OE. the a- and the masculine and neuter i-stems regularly had the ending -es in the genitive singular, but the ō- and feminine i-stems had -e, the u-stems -a, and the n-stems -an, which became weakened down to -e, -en in early ME. (§ 134). Parallel with the gradual extension of the s-plural to all classes of nouns also went that of the genitive ending -es, but genitives without -(e)s in those types of nouns which did not have it in OE. are occasionally found throughout the ME. period, and a few such genitives are still preserved in NE., as **Friday**, **Lady day** beside **Thursday**, **the Lord's day**. The e in -es was generally written, but not pronounced after secondary accented syllables of trisyllabic forms, as **felawęs**, **housbondęs**, **bodięs**, **lādięs**, &c.

§ 318. During the ME. period the preposition **of** came to be used before the nominative and accusative singular to express the genitival relationship, and similarly the preposition **to** to express the dative.

§ 319. The nominative and accusative plural were always alike in OE. and so also in ME. In OE. the genitive plural of all strong nouns, of whatever gender, ended in -a (= ME.

-e), except the pure ō-stems which had -ena (= ME. -ene) beside -a. The genitive plural of weak nouns ended in -ena (= ME. -ene). And the dative plural of all nouns, of whatever gender and declension, ended in -um, late OE. -un, -on, -an (= ME. -en), see § 259. The endings -ene and -en remained for a time in ME. in those nouns which had the weak ending -en (= OE. -an) in the nominative and accusative plural. But in those nouns where -(e)s had come to be used for the nominative and accusative plural, the -(e)s was gradually extended to the genitive and dative, that is to say the nominative and accusative came to be used for the genitive and dative.

§ 320. Trisyllabic inflected forms with -el-, -en-, -er- generally syncopated the medial -e-, as **foules, apples, wintres, fingres, fadres, mōdres** (cp. § 102). But when the medial -el-, -en-, -er- were preceded by m, v, þ the medial -e- was retained in writing, but not in pronunciation, as **hameres, develes, hevenes, brōþeres.** All nouns ending in f, s, þ changed these to v, z (written s), and ð (written þ) in the inflected forms. Original medial double consonants were generally simplified when they came to stand finally, as gen. **hilles, mannes, pottes** beside nom. **hil, man, pot.** With rare exceptions the Anglo-Norman nouns were inflected in ME. like the native English nouns which in OE. belonged to the masculine a-declension, that is, the genitive singular ended in -es, the dative in -e, and the plural in -es.

A. THE VOCALIC OR STRONG DECLENSION

1. Masculine Nouns.

§ 321. To this declension belong: (*a*) the OE. masculine a-, ja-, and wa-stems; (*b*) the OE. masculine i-stems; and (*c*) the OE. masculine u-stems. In OE. the nominative and accusative singular of the a-stems, the ja-stems with an

original short stem-syllable, and the long **i**- and **u**-stems generally ended in a consonant, as **stān** *stone*, **dæg** *day*, **mearh** *horse*, **scōh** *shoe*; **hyll** *hill*, **mycg** *midge*; **dǣl** *part*, **giest** *guest*, **wyrm** *worm*; **fēld** *field*, **sumor** *summer*; but the nominative and accusative singular of the **ja**-stems with an original long stem-syllable, the short **i**- and **u**-stems ended in a vowel, as **ende** *end*, **drincere** *drinker*; **wine** *friend*, **stede** *place*; **sunu** *son*, **wudu** *wood*. This difference in the ending of the nominative and accusative singular was regularly preserved in nearly all the nouns in ME.

§ 322. In passing from OE. to ME. the following changes took place in the nom. and acc. singular: nouns like **dæg** came to end in a diphthong, as **dai** (pl. **daies** beside **dawes**), **wei** (OE. **weg**), which also sometimes took **-e** from the inflected forms, as **daie** (**daye**), **weie** (**weye**, *Ormulum* **weȝȝe**). Nouns of the type **mearh**, **scōh**, **mycg** came to end in a vowel through having been remodelled after the analogy of the inflected forms, as **mē̤re** (OE. **mearh**, gen. **mēares**), **schō̤** (OE. **scōh**, gen. **scōs**), **migge** (OE. **mycg**, gen. **mycges**). In late ME. a mute **-e** was sometimes added to monosyllables ending in a single consonant and containing a long vowel in order to indicate that the preceding vowel was long, as **stō̤ne** *stone*, **strē̤me** *stream*, beside **stō̤n**, **strē̤m** (§ 11). Final **-u** was weakened to **-e** (§ 134).

§ 323. ME. nouns ending in a consonant, and generally also those ending in a diphthong, took **-es** (also sometimes written **-us**, **-is**, **-ys**, see § 134) in the gen. singular, as **stō̤nes**, **daies** beside **dais**, and those ending in a vowel took **-s**, as **schō̤s**, **sē̤s** *seas*. In early ME. the dat. singular ended in **-e** (§ 141). This **-e** was retained when the nom. and acc. ended in **-e**, but when they did not end in **-e** they came to be used for the dative also, as nom. acc. and dat. sing. **stō̤n**, **schō̤**, **dai**. Trisyllabic forms containing medial **-el-**, **-en-**, **-er-** generally syncopated the medial **-e-**, as gen. **apples**, **fingres** beside nom. **appel**, **finger** (cp. § 102).

§ 324. Through the weakening of the OE. ending **-as** to **-es** in ME. the ending of the nom. and acc. plural came to be like that of the gen. singular. The OE. gen. plural ending **-a** and the dat. ending **-um** (= late OE. **-un**, **-on**, **-an**, § 259) were weakened to **-e** and **-en** which remained in the transition period, but already in early ME. they were supplanted by the nominative and accusative, and thus all cases of the plural came to be alike.

§ 325. **stǭn** *stone*, **engel** *angel*, **ende** *end*, and **sone** *son* will serve as models for the nouns belonging to this declension.

§ 326.		ME.	OE.	ME.	OE.
Sing. Nom.	Acc.	stǭn	stān	engel	engel
	Gen.	stǭnes	stānes	engles	engles
	Dat.	stǭn(e)	stāne	engle	engle
Plural Nom.	Acc.	stǭnes	stānas	engles	englas
	Gen.	stǭnes	stāna	engles	engla
	Dat.	stǭnes	stānum	engles	englum

§ 327. Like **stǭn** are declined a large number of nouns, as **arm**, **bōt**, **brōm**, **cōmb**, **craft**, **dōm**, **fisch**, **gōst** *ghost*, **hail**, **hōm**, **hound**, **king**, **nail**, **rein** *rain*, **rōp**, **roum** *room*, **schaft**, **stōl**, **storm**, **swan**, **trǫuȝh**, **wind**, &c.; and similarly old long **wa**-stems, as **snǫw**, **dęw**; old long **i**-stems, as **dēl**, **dint**, **gest**, **fliȝt**, **pliȝt**, **wurm**; old long **u**-stems, as **fēld**, **fōrd**, **þorn**, &c. Nouns ending in a voiceless spirant changed it to the corresponding voiced spirant in the inflected forms, as **þēf** *thief*, **mouþ**, gen. **þēves**, **mouþes**, and similarly **lōf** *loaf*, **knīf**, **staf**, **wolf**, **ōþ** *oath*, **paþ**. Medial double consonants were simplified when they came to stand finally, as gen. **briddes**, **hilles**, **pittes**, **walles**, beside nom. **brid**, &c.

§ 328. Like **engel** are declined nouns ending in **-el**, **-en**, **-er**, as **appel**, **crādel**, **girdel**, **hunger**, **sadel**, **þimbel**, **þunder**. But when the **-el**, **-en**, **-er** were preceded by **m** or **v** the medial **-e-** was written in the inflected forms, but was not

pronounced, as gen. **hameres, hevenes**, dat. **hamere, hevene**: nom. **hamer, heven.**

§ 329.		ME.	OE.	ME.	OE.
Sing. Nom.	Acc.	ende	ende	sone	sunu
	Gen.	endes	endes	sones	suna
	Dat.	ende	ende	sone	suna
Plural Nom.	Acc.	endes	endas	sones	suna
	Gen.	endes	enda	sones	suna
	Dat.	endes	endum	sones	sunum

And similarly **mēre māre** *horse*, **sēle** *seal* (animal); old **ja**-stems like **migge** *midge*, **rigge** *back*, **wegge** *wedge*; **herde** *shepherd*, **whēte**; **bākere, drinkere, fischere**; old short **i**-stems, as **bile** *bill*, **bite, dēne** *valley*, **stiche**; old short **u**-stems, as **mēde** *mead*, **spite** *spit*, '*veru*', **wode wude** *wood*.

§ 330. Nouns ending in a vowel other than **-e** had simply **-s** in the gen. singular and in the plural, and no **-e** in the dat. singular, as **flē** *flea*, gen. **flēs**, dat. **flē**, pl. **flēs**, and similarly **schō** *shoe*, **sē** *sea*, **peni** (inflected **penies, penes**). **dai** and **wei** were also similarly inflected, as **dais**, dat. sing **dai.**

2. Neuter Nouns.

§ 331. To this declension belong: (*a*) the OE. neuter **a-, ja-**, and **wa**-stems, and (*b*) the OE. neuter **i**-stems. These stems were inflected in OE. exactly like the corresponding masculine stems except in the nom. and acc. plural. In OE. the nom. and acc. plural of neuter stems ended either in **-u** or had no ending (*EOE. Gr.* § 188), whereas the masculine stems ended in **-as** (= ME. **-es**). Therefore in treating the neuter nouns it is only necessary to take into consideration the formation of the plural.

1. When the singular ended in a consonant the plural was generally formed by adding **-es** after the analogy of the old masculine **a**-declension, as **word**, pl. **wordes**, and similarly

bak, barn, bǭn, bǭrd, horn, land, nest, schip, werk; lę̄f *leaf*, pl. lę̄ves, and similarly baþ, hous, līf, &c.; water, pl. watres, and similarly tǭken, wonder, but pl. maidens never maidnes in Chaucer; ja-stems, as bed, pl. beddes, and similarly bil, den, kin, net, rib, web; long i-stems, as flĕsch, pl. flę̄sches, and similarly flę̄s *fleece*, hilt, &c.

Monosyllabic nouns with a long stem-syllable denoting collectivity, weight, measure, and time generally remained uninflected in the plural just as in OE., as dę̄r *deer*, folk, nę̄t *cattle*, pound, schę̄p, swīn, ȝę̄r ȝę̄r *year*, &c., cp. NE. deer, sheep, swine, five-pound note. This rule practically agrees with that in the modern dialects. In all the modern dialects nouns denoting collectivity, time, space, weight, measure, and number when immediately preceded by a cardinal number generally remain unchanged in the plural, see *ED. Gr.* § 382.

2. When the singular ended in a vowel or a diphthong in ME. the plural took -s after the analogy of the corresponding old masculine nouns, as cǭle *coal*, pl. cǭles, and similarly dāle, gāte, hǭle, ȝǭke (§ 103), fę̄ (OE. feoh, gen. fēos) *cattle*; old long ja-stems, as ę̆rende *errand*, flicche, stę̄le *steel*; old wa-stems, as mę̄le *meal*, *flour*, tę̄re *tar*; knę̄, trę̄, stręę beside straw (OE. strēa beside gen. *strawes); short i-stems, as sive *sieve*, spę̄re *spear*, &c.

3. Feminine Nouns.

§ 332. To this declension belong: (*a*) the OE. ō-, jō-, and wō-stems; (*b*) the OE. feminine i-stems; and (*c*) the OE. feminine u-stems. After the OE. final vowels had been weakened to -e the following changes took place in the types of nouns belonging to this declension: In the ō- and jō-stems which in OE. ended in a consonant the -e of the oblique cases was levelled out into the nominative, as bǭte *advantage*, sǫule, henne = OE. bōt, sāwol, henn. In the wō-

stems we have double forms in ME. according as the old nominative or accusative singular became generalized, as short **wō**-stems **schāde** (= OE. nom. **sceadu**) beside **schadwe** (= OE. acc. **sceadwe**), **sine** (= OE. nom. **sinu, sionu**) beside **sinewe** (= OE. acc. **sinwe**) *sinew*; long **wō**-stems, as **mę̄de** with **-e** from the inflected forms (= OE. nom. **mād**) beside **medwe medewe** (= OE. acc. **mādwe**) *meadow*. In the **i**-stems the **-e** of the gen. and dat. was levelled out into the nom. and accusative, as **quę̄ne** (= OE. nom. acc. **cwēn**, gen. and dat. **cwēne**). In the long **u**-stems the **-e** (= OE. **-a**) of the gen. and dat. was not levelled out into the nom. and accusative, as nom. acc. **hand, flō̤r, quern** = OE. **hand, flōr, cweorn** *hand-mill*. The **-e** of the oblique cases was also not levelled out into the nominative or respectively into the nominative and accusative of other stems ending in **-ing** (**-ung**), **-st, -ȝt**, as **lerning, fist, miȝt** = OE. **leornung, fȳst, miht**. With the exception of the types of nouns just mentioned, all the other types belonging to this declension regularly have **-e** from older **-u** in the nominative, as **tāle** (= OE. **talu**), **love** (= OE. **lufu**), &c.

§ 333. In early Northumbrian, and then later also in WS. and Kentish, the acc. sing. of the **i**-stems often had **-e** after the analogy of the **ō**-stems. The genitive ending **-(e)s** of the strong masc. and neut. nouns was gradually extended to the feminine, but throughout the ME. period forms without **-s** are sometimes found. Feminine nouns denoting animate objects generally had the ending **-(e)s**, whereas abstract nouns and nouns denoting inanimate objects mostly or often had simply **-e**. The nom. and acc. of those nouns which in ME. ended in a consonant came to be used for the dative at an early period, as **hand, lerning, fist**, &c. Chaucer has the dat. **honde** beside **hond**. The plural ending of the OE. masculine **a**- and **i**-declensions was gradually extended to the strong feminines. The strong feminines had begun to take the **s**-plural in Northumbrian already in the late OE. period,

as saules, dēdes, &c. The strong feminines regularly formed their plural in -(e)s in Chaucer, but the southern dialects of the fourteenth century mostly had -en after the analogy of the n-declension. Later on, however, the plural in these dialects also took the ending -(e)s. See §§ 315–17.

§ 334. tāle *number, tale,* whīle *time,* quēne *queen,* and hand will serve as models for the nouns belonging to this declension.

§ 335.

Sing.	ME.	OE.	ME.	OE.	ME.	OE.
Nom.	tāle	talu	whīle	hwīl	quēne	cwēn
Acc.	tāle	tale	whīle	hwīle	quēne	cwēn
Gen.	tāle(s)	tale	whīle(s)	hwīle	quēne(s)	cwēne
Dat.	tāle	tale	whīle	hwīle	quēne	cwēne
Plural						
Nom. Acc.	tāles	tala, -e	whīles	hwīla, -e	quēnes	cwēne, -a
Gen.	tāles	tala, -ena	whīles	hwīla, -ena	quēnes	cwēna
Dat.	tāles	talum (§ 259)	whīles	hwīlum	quēnes	cwēnum

§ 336. Like tāle are declined the OE. ō-stems with a short stem-syllable, as cāre, love, schāme, wrāke *vengeance*; the OE. abstract nouns in -þu, as lengþe, strengþe; the OE. wō-stems with a short stem-syllable, as schāde (schadwe), sine (sinewe); and the OE. short u-stems, as dore dure, nōse.

§ 337. Like whīle are declined the OE. ō-stems which did not have -u in the nom. singular, as fetere, feþere, glōve, lōre, nēdle, netele, sorwe, sǫule, wounde; the OE. jō-stems, as brigge *bridge,* cribbe, egge *edge,* helle, henne, sibbe *relationship,* sille, sinne; blisse, hīnde *doe,* hǫlinesse, reste; the OE. long wō-stems, mēde (medwe), stǫwe.

§ 338. Like quēne are declined the OE. feminine i-stems, as benche, brīde, dēde, hīde, hīve, nēde *need,* spēde *success,* tīde.

§ 339.

		ME.	OE.
Sing.	Nom. Acc.	hand	hand
	Gen.	hande(s)	handa
	Dat.	hand(e)	handa
Plural	Nom. Acc.	handes	handa
	Gen.	handes	handa
	Dat.	handes	handum (§ 259)

§ 340. Like hand hond are declined the OE. feminine long u-stems, as flōr, quern *hand-mill*; the OE. abstract nouns in -ung (-ing) and nouns ending in -st, -ht, as blessing, ēvening, lerning, fist, miȝt. The plural hend *hands*, which was common in the northern dialects, was of ON. origin (O.Icel. hend-r).

B. THE WEAK OR N-DECLENSION

§ 341. This declension contained in OE. masculine, feminine, and neuter nouns. It contained a large number of masculine and feminine nouns, but only three neuter nouns all of which denote parts of the body, viz. ēage *eye*, ēare *ear*, and wange *cheek*. The only distinction between the masculines and the feminines in OE. was that the nominative singular of the former ended in -a, and that of the latter in -e. After the -a had been weakened to -e in the nom. singular of the masculines the two classes of nouns had the same endings in all cases of the singular and plural. So that the early ME. case-endings were :—

	ME.	OE.
Sing. Nom.	-e	-a, -e
Acc. Gen. Dat.	-en	-an
Plural Nom. Acc.	-en	-an
Gen.	-ene	-ena
Dat.	-en	-um (§ 259)

The following changes took place:—The -e of the nom.

singular supplanted the **-en** (= OE. **-an**) of the oblique cases of the singular, and then later **-s** was added for the gen. singular. The singular thus fell together with the old masculine, feminine, and neuter strong nouns whose nom. singular ended in **-e** in ME. The extension of **-(e)s** from the old strong masculines and neuters of the **a-** and **i-**declensions to the nouns of this declension took place earlier in the masculines than in the feminines. And in the masculines it took place earlier in nouns denoting animate objects than in those denoting inanimate objects. In Chaucer the old feminines generally have **-(e)s** in the gen. singular, but forms like gen. **lādy, sonne, widwe** also occur. The old **-en** plurals remained much longer in the southern and Kentish dialects than in the Midland and northern. In the former dialects the **-en** plural was often extended to nouns which were strong in OE. and even also to Anglo-Norman words. This was especially common with the gen. plural ending **-ene** (= OE. **-ena**) of the OE. **ō** and **n-**declensions. On the other hand the **-en** plural was supplanted by the **-(e)s** plural at an early period in the northern and north Midland dialects. For the approximate dates at which the change from the weak to the strong declension took place in the separate dialects, see § **316**.

§ **342.** The three OE. neuter nouns **ēage, ēare, wange** = ME. **ę̄ȝe, eye, ȳe** (§ **107**, 6), **ę̄re, wange** (**wonge**) were inflected in ME. like the old masculine and feminine weak nouns. The old masculine and feminine contracted weak nouns were inflected in ME. just like the uncontracted nouns, as **flę̄** (OE. **flēa**) *flea*, pl. **flę̄s, flę̄n**, and similarly **fǭ** *foe*, **rǭ** *roe*; **bę̄** (OE. **bēo**) *bee*, pl. **bę̄s, bę̄n**, and similarly **slǭ** *sloe*, **tǭ** *toe*.

§ **343.** Examples of OE. masculine nouns which belong to this declension in ME. are: **āpe, asse, bę̄re, bǫwe** (OE. **boga**) *bow*, **bukke, dogge, fǭle, frogge, hāre, lippe, mǭne, nāme, oxe, sterre** *star*, **þoumbe** *thumb*, &c. And

of feminine nouns: **asche, belle, bladdre, chēke, chirche, cuppe, harpe, herte, moþþe, oule, pīpe, sonne, swalwe, tonge tunge, þrōte, widewe, wolle** *wool.* **lādi** older **lavdie, lavedie** (OE. **hlǣfdige**) lost its final **-e** at an early period, cp. Orm's **laffdiȝ** (§ **154**), and similarly **pley** (OE. **plega**).

§ **344.** Only a small number of the old plurals in **-en** are found in Chaucer, as **hōsen, oxen**; in a few words he has weak and strong forms side by side, as **aschen, bēen, flēen, fōon, tōon** beside **asches, bēes, flēes, fōos, tōos,** and in the old strong noun **schoon** beside **schoos.**

C. THE MINOR DECLENSIONS

§ **345.** The nouns belonging to these categories are all old consonant stems, and include nouns belonging to all genders. In treating their history in ME. we shall follow the same order as in the *EOE. Gr.* §§ 255–67.

1. Monosyllabic Consonant Stems.

a. Masculine.

§ **346.** The nouns of this type had umlaut in the dat. singular and the nom. acc. plural, otherwise the case-endings were the same as in the OE. masculine **a**-declension. In ME. a new dat. singular in **-e** without umlaut was formed after the analogy of nouns like **stōn,** as **fōte** beside OE. **fēt.** The OE. umlauted form of the nom. acc. plural remained and also came to be used for the dative, to which was then added the ending **-es** to form a new genitive, as nom. acc. dat. **fēt,** gen. **fētes** beside OE. nom. acc. **fēt,** gen. **fōta,** dat. **fōtum,** and similarly **man,** gen. **mannes,** pl. **men**; **wim(m)an wum(m)an wom(m)an,** pl. **wim(m)en,** &c.; **tōþ,** pl. **tēþ.**

b. Feminine.

§ **347.** The nouns of this type had umlaut in the dat. singular, and many also had it in the genitive, as dat. sing.

bēc, hnyte, gen. bēc beside bōce, hnute. These cases were remodelled in ME. after the analogy of the old a-declension, as nom. acc. bo̧k, note nute *nut*, gen. bo̧kes, notes, dat. bo̧ke, note. In OE. the nom. acc. plural had umlaut, as bȩ̄c, hnyte, otherwise the case-endings of the plural were the same as in the a-declension. Of the OE. nouns which belonged to this type five preserved the umlaut in the nom. acc. plural in ME., and these cases also came to be used for the old genitive and dative, as nom. acc. gen. dat. gȩ̄s beside OE. nom. acc. gēs, gen. gōsa, dat. gōsum; and similarly lous, pl. līs; mous, pl. mīs; brȩ̄ch (OE. brēc beside sing. brōc) *trousers*; cou, pl. kī kȳ beside kȳn kīen with -n, -en from the weak declension. In all the other nouns a new plural in -es was formed from the singular after the analogy of nouns like sto̧n, pl. sto̧nes, as nom. acc. gen. dat. bo̧kes, beside OE. nom. acc. bēc, gen. bōca, dat. bōcum; and similarly burȝ buruȝ *borough*, pl. burȝes burwes; furȝ furuȝ *furrow*, pl. furȝes furwes; go̧tes beside gȩ̄t *goats*; nite, pl. nites; niȝt, pl. niȝtes beside niȝt *nights*; note, pl. notes *nuts*; o̧k, pl. o̧kes *oaks*; turf, pl. turves.

c. Neuter.

§ 348. The only noun belonging to this type in OE. was scrūd *garment*. Already in OE. it had come to be declined like the long neuter a-stems except that the dat. singular was scrȳd beside scrūde. In ME. it was declined like an ordinary old neuter a-stem with dat. in -(e) and plural in -es, as schroud, pl. schroudes.

2. Stems in -þ.

§ 349. Of the four OE. nouns belonging to this type only two were preserved in ME., viz. mo̧neþ (OE. mōnaþ), and āle *ale* (OE. ealu, gen. and dat. ealoþ). In OE. mōnaþ was declined like a masc. a-stem except that the nom. acc.

plural was mōnaþ. In ME. a new plural in ·es was formed after the analogy of nouns like stǭnes, as mǭn(e)þes beside the uninflected form mǭneþ. āle remained uninflected in ME.

3. Stems in ·r.

§ 350. To this type belong the nouns of relationship: fader (OE. fæder), brǭþer (OE. brōþor), mǭder (OE. mōdor), dǫu3ter (OE. dohtor), suster soster (OE. sweostor), sister (ON. syster).

The plural of fæder was inflected like a masculine a-stem. The nom. acc. pl. fæderas regularly became fadres fadęres in ME. and was then used for the gen. and dat. also. In OE. the sing. was fæder in all cases, but the gen. had fæderes beside fæder, and similarly in ME. nom. acc. dat. fader, gen. fader beside fadres.

The uninflected forms brǭþer, mǭder, dǫu3ter of the nom. acc. and gen. singular came to be used for the old umlauted forms brēþer, mēder, dehter of the dat. singular, so that the singular of these nouns generally remained uninflected in ME., but sometimes, however, a gen. brǭþęres, mǭdres, dǫu3tres is also found.

The OE. nom. acc. pl. mōdor, dohtor regularly became mǭder, dǫu3ter in ME., and were then used for the old gen. and dative, but beside these forms there also occur plurals in ·es after the analogy of fadres, &c., and in ·en after the analogy of the weak declension, as mǭdres, mǭdren; dǫu3tres, dǫu3tren. brǭþer also has three plural forms all of which are new formations, viz. brēþer formed after the analogy of words like tǭþ, pl. tēþ; brǭþęres formed after the analogy of words like fader, pl. fadres; and brēþęren formed from brēþer with ·en from the weak declension.

suster soster (OE. sweostor), sister (ON. syster) remained uninflected in the singular just as in OE. This word like mǭder has also three plural forms in ME., viz.

suster, soster, sister, and the plural forms in **-en, -es,** as **sustren, sustres.**

4. Masculine Stems in -nd.

§ 351. OE. had several nouns of this type of which only two were preserved in ME., viz. **frȩnd** *friend* (OE. **frēond**) and **fȩnd** *enemy, fiend* (OE. **fēond**), see § 73. In OE. the dat. sing. and nom. acc. pl. had umlauted beside unumlauted forms, as dat. sing. **frīend** beside **frēonde,** pl. **frīend** beside **frēondas,** otherwise the nouns of this type were inflected like masculine **a**-stems. In ME. the umlauted form of the dat. singular disappeared, so that the singular was inflected just like an old masculine **a**-stem. In early ME. the umlauted plural form **frȩnd** (OE. **frīend**) was preserved, and then later the **-es** plural **frȩndes** (OE. **frēondas**) became generalized for all cases, and similarly with **fȩnd.**

5. Neuter Stems in -os, -es.

§ 352. This declension originally contained a large number of nouns, all of which, with the exception of six, passed over into other declensions in the prehistoric period of the language. The six nouns which remained are: **cealf** *calf*, **cild** *child*, **ǣg** *egg*, **lamb** *lamb*, **speld** *splinter*, and the pl. **brēadru** *crumbs*, the last two of which disappeared in ME.

The singular of **cealf, cild, ǣg,** and **lamb** was inflected in OE. like an **a**-stem, and similarly also in ME. In OE. the plural of these nouns was **cealfru, ǣgru, lambru,** and **cild** beside **cildru.** The ending **-ru** regularly became **-re** in ME., to which was added **-n** in the southern dialects after the analogy of the weak declension, as **calvren, eiren, lombren, children** beside **childer.** In the northern dialects we also have **children** beside **childer,** but in the other words a new plural in **-es** was formed direct from the singular, as **calves, lambes, egges** from ON. **egg,** and then the **-es** plural gradually spread to all the dialects.

CHAPTER VIII

ADJECTIVES

1. THE DECLENSION OF ADJECTIVES

a. The Strong Declension.

§ 353. In OE. the strong declension is divided into pure **a**-, **ō**-stems, **ja**-, **jō**-stems, and **wā**-, **wō**-stems like the corresponding nouns. The original **i**- and **u**-stems passed over almost entirely into this declension in prehistoric OE. In OE. the declension of the **ja**-, **jō**-stems and **wa**-, **wō**-stems only differed from that of the pure **a**-, **ō**-stems in the masc. and fem. nom. singular and the neuter nom. acc. singular, and even here the **ja**-, **jō**-stems with an original short stem-syllable and the **wa**-, **wō**-stems with a long stem-syllable were declined like pure **a**-, **ō**-stems, see *EOE. Gr.* §§ 270, 279, 284. The ending of the nom. singular of the various types was accordingly in OE. :—

	Masc.	*Neut.*	*Fem.*
Pure **a**-, **ō**-stems or stems declined like them	—	—	—, **-u** (**-o**)
ja-, **jō**-stems or stems declined like them	**-e**	**-e**	**-u** (**-o**)
Short **wa**-, **wō**-stems	**-u** (**-o**)	**-u** (**-o**)	**-u** (**-o**)

After the ending **-u** (**-o**) had been weakened to **-e** (§ 134 (*a*)), the masc. neut. and fem. singular of the adjectives of these types ended in a consonant or in **e**-, as short **a**-, **ō**-stems: **glad** (OE. masc. and neut. **glæd**, fem. **gladu**, **-o**), and similarly **blak**, **smal**, &c.; long **a**-, **ō**-stems and long **wa**-, **wō**-stems: **brǭd** *broad* (OE. masc. neut. and fem. **brād**), and similarly **cǭld**, **dę̄d** *dead*, **dę̄f** *deaf*, **hard**, **lang** (**long**), **rę̄d** *red*, **riȝt**, **wīs**; **slǫw** (OE. **slāw** with **-w** from the inflected forms); pl. **fęwe** (OE. **fēawe** *few*); **ja**-, **jō**-stems: **clę̄ne**

(OE. masc. and neut. **clǣne**, fem. **clǣnu**, **-o**), and similarly **blīþe**, **grēne**, **kēne**, **newe**, **rīpe**, **þinne**, &c.; **frē** (OE. **frēo** *free*); short **wa-**, **wō-**stems: **narwe** (OE. masc. neut. and fem. **nearu**, gen. masc. and neut. **nearwes**) with **w** from the old inflected forms, and similarly **falewe** (**fāle**) *fallow*, **ȝelwe** (**ȝelowe**) *yellow*, &c.

A certain number of OE. adjectives with a short stem-syllable came to end in **-e** in ME. through the levelling out of the inflected forms, as **bāre** beside **bar** (OE. **bær**, gen. **bares**), and similarly **lāte**, **smāle** beside **lat**, **smal**, see § 103. And as OE. final **-ig** was weakened to **-i** in ME. all the adjectives of this type also ended in a vowel in ME., as **hevi** (OE. **hefig**), and similarly **blōdi**, **hǭli**, &c., see § 138.

§ 354. The OE. endings of the oblique cases were :—

	Masc.	*Neut.*	*Fem.*
Sing. Acc.	**-ne**	= Nom.	**-e**
Gen.	**-es**	**-es**	**-re**
Dat.	**-um**	**-um**	**-re**
Plural Nom. Acc.	**-e**	—, **-u** (**-o**)	**-a**, **-e**
Gen.	**-ra**	**-ra**	**-ra**
Dat.	**-um**	**-um**	**-um**

In late OE. and early ME. the endings **-um** (see § 259), **-u** (**-o**), **-a**, and **-ra** were regularly weakened to **-en**, **-e**, **-re** (§ 134). A few of the old case-endings are occasionally found in early ME., viz. the ending of the acc. masc. singular **-ne**, the gen. and dat. fem. singular **-e** (**-ere**), and a few isolated forms of the gen. plural were still preserved in Chaucer, as **oure aller cok**, **alderbest**, **alderwerst**, **alderfirst**, see § 148. Apart from these isolated forms of the gen. plural, the form of the masc. nom. singular had become generalized for the whole of the singular, and the form of the nom. acc. plural had become generalized for the whole of the plural before the end of the first half of the thirteenth century. We accordingly arrive at the following scheme for the

inflexion of strong adjectives in what might be termed standard ME. :—

(*a*) Monosyllabic adjectives ending in a consonant remained uninflected throughout the singular, and had **-e** throughout the plural, as **brǭd, gōd, glad**, pl. **brǭde, gōde, glade.**

(*b*) Adjectives which ended in a vowel in OE. or which came to end in a vowel in ME. (§ **140**) remained uninflected throughout the singular and plural.

(*c*) Dissyllabic adjectives including past participles ending in a consonant remained uninflected throughout the singular and plural through loss of the old final **-e** in the plural, as **bitter, litel, bounden, cursed**, &c., see § **142.**

The Anglo-Norman adjectives were generally inflected like the native English adjectives.

b. The Weak Declension.

§ **355.** In OE. the weak declension of adjectives had the same case-endings as the weak declension of nouns except that the gen. plural had the strong ending **-ra** beside the weak ending **-ena.** The nom. singular of the masculine ended in **-a**, and that of the feminine and neuter in **-e**, as **gōda, gōde; clǣna, clǣne; nearwa, nearwe.** Through the weakening of the final **-a** to **-e** the nom. singular came to be alike for all genders in ME.

§ **356.** The endings of the oblique cases were :—

		Masc.	*Neut.*	*Fem.*
Sing.	Acc.	**-an**	**-e**	**-an**
	Gen.	**-an**	**-an**	**-an**
	Dat.	**-an**	**-an**	**-an**
Plural	Nom. Acc.	**-an**	**-an**	**-an**
	Gen.	**-ena**	**-ena**	**-ena**
	Dat.	**-um**	**-um**	**-um**

In late OE. and early ME. the endings **-an, -ena, um** (see § **259**) were regularly weakened to **-en, -ene**, and even these

two endings had ceased to be in use after about the beginning of the thirteenth century. In ordinary standard ME. the only distinction preserved between the old strong and weak declensions of adjectives is in the singular of monosyllabic adjectives ending in a consonant, as strong sing. gōd, pl. gōde; weak sing. gōde, pl. gōde. In all the other types of adjectives there was no longer any distinction between the strong and weak declensions.

2. THE COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES

§ 357. In OE. the comparative and superlative belonged to the weak declension except that the neuter nom. acc. singular had the strong beside the weak form in the superlative, but in ME. they ceased to be inflected at an early period, cp. § 154. In OE. the comparative had or had not umlaut in the stem-syllable according as the ending **-ra** corresponded to Germanic -izô or -ôzô, and similarly in the superlative **-est** = Germanic **-ist-** beside **-ost** = Germanic **-ōst-**, see *EOE. Gr.* § 291, as

eald *old*	ieldra	ieldest
geong *young*	giengra / gingra	giengest / gingest
grēat *great*	grīetra	grīetest
lang *long*	lengra	lengest
but earm *poor*	earmra	earmost
glæd *glad*	glædra	gladost
lēof *dear*	lēofra	lēofost

The **-ra** and **-ost** regularly became **-re** (**-ere**) and **-est** in late OE. and early ME. (§§ 148, 149), so that in ME. the comparative was generally formed by means of **-re** (**-ere**), later **-(e)r**, and the superlative by **-(e)st**, as

hard	harder	hardest
fair	fairer	fairest
clēne	clēner	clēnest

§ 358. Only a small number of OE. adjectives had umlaut in the comparative and superlative, and even some of these did not have it in ME. The most important ME. examples are :—

grēt	gretter (OE. grīetra)	grettest
lang (long)	lenger	lengest beside longest
neiȝ, niȝ *near*	nēre (OE. nēahra) / nerre (OE. nēarra)	next (OE. nīehst) / nĕst (Angl. nēst)
ōld	elder	eldest
strang (strong)	strenger	strengest

Note.—The usual ME. comparative and superlative of ȝung *young* were ȝungre, -er, ȝungest formed direct from the positive, but beside these there were also the regular forms ȝingre (OE. gingra), ȝingest (OE. gingest) from which a new positive ȝing was formed, and which was common throughout the ME. period.

§ 359. Long vowels were regularly shortened in the comparative (§ 90), and then the short vowel was often extended to the superlative, and sometimes even to the positive, as

grēt	gretter	grettest
hōt	hotter	hottest
lāte	latter	last
stīf	stiffer	stiffest

In later ME. the comparative and superlative were generally formed direct from the positive, as grēter, grētest beside older gretter, grettest; and similarly ōlder, ōldest beside elder, eldest; lāter, lātest beside latter, last (§ 249); &c.

§ 360. Anglo-Norman monosyllabic and dissyllabic adjectives also formed their comparative in -er and superlative in -est, but adjectives of more than two syllables generally formed their comparative and superlative by prefixing mōre, mōst to the positive.

§ 361. A certain number of adjectives in ME. as in OE. and NE. form their comparatives and superlatives from a different root than the positive:—

gōd	better	best (§ 249)
ēvel, ill, badde	werse, wurse	werst, wurst (§ 123)
muche(l), mikel	mǫre (māre)	mēst (mǭst, māst)
litel, līte	lasse, lesse	lēst(e)

§ 362. In a certain number of OE. words the comparative was originally formed from an adverb or a preposition, with a superlative in ·um·, ·uma. The simple superlative suffix was preserved in OE. forma = Goth. fruma, ME. þe forme *the first*, from which was formed in ME. the new comparative former. In prehistoric OE., as in Gothic, to ·um· was added the ordinary superlative suffix ·ist· which gave rise to the double superlative suffix ·umist·, as Goth. frumists *first*, hindumists *hindmost*. In OE. ·umist· regularly became ·ymist·, later ·imest·, ·emest·, ·mest·, as inne *within*, innera, innemest. In ME. the ending ·mest came to be associated with mēst, later mǭst (māst) with ǭ (ā) from the old comparative, whence such ME. forms as formēst, formǭst, formāst, beside formest, and similarly inmǭst (innermǭst), souþmǭst, ŭtmǭst (uttermǭst), &c.

3. NUMERALS

a. Cardinal Numerals.

§ 363. Apart from the regular phonological changes the cardinal numerals also underwent other changes in passing from OE. to ME. The following are the most important changes to be noted:—

ǭn (northern ān), but ǭ (northern ā) before words beginning with a consonant, was used as a numeral; and the early shortened form an (§ 101), but a before words beginning with a consonant, was used as the indefinite article (§ 247).

twǭ, twǭ, tǭ (northern **tuā**) = OE. fem. and neut. **twā**, came to be used also for the masculine; and similarly **twein**(e), **tweie** (= OE. masc. **twēgen**) came to be used also for the feminine and neuter.

þrę̄ = OE. fem. and neut. **þrīo, þrēo**, came to be used also for the masculine.

In OE. the cardinals 4 to 19 generally remained uninflected when they stood before a noun, whereas, if they stood after a noun or were used as nouns, they were inflected as follows: nom. acc. masc. and fem. **-e**, neut. **-u** (**-o**), gen. **-a**, dat. **-um**. The inflexional ending **-e** was also preserved in ME., especially when the numerals stood after the noun or were used alone, whence the ME. double forms **fīve, sevene**, &c., beside **fīf, seven**, &c.

The regular OE. forms used for expressing the decades 70 to 120, as **hundseofontig, hundeahtatig, hundnigontig, hundtēontig, hundendleofantig, hundtwelftig** were supplanted by the new formations **seventi**, &c., **hundred and ten, hundred and twenti**. The form **hund**, which along with the units was used to express the hundreds 200 to 900, was gradually supplanted by **hundred**. In OE. the decades, **hundred** (**hund**), and **þūsend** were nouns and governed the genitive case. In ME. they were almost exclusively used as adjectives.

§ 364. The ME. cardinals are: **ǭn, ǭ** (northern **ān, ā**), **twǭ, twǭ, tǭ** (northern **tuā**), **tweine, tweie**; **þrę̄**; **fǫur**(e), **fǫwre** (cp. § 112 note 2); **fīf, fīve**; **six**(e), **sex**(e) (Angl. **sex**); **seven**(e); **ei3te, au3te** (northern **a3t**(e)), see §§ 107, 4, 110, 5; **ni3en**(e), **nīne**; **tę̄ne** beside the shortened form **ten** (§ 92); **ellevę̄n**(e), **elevę̄n**(e), **enleven** (cp. § 243); **twelf, twelve**; **þrettę̄ne, þrittę̄ne**; **fǫurtę̄ne**; **fiftę̄ne**; **sixtę̄ne**; **seventę̄ne**; **ei3tetę̄ne**; **ni3entę̄ne, nīnetę̄ne**; **twenti, þretti** (**þritti**), **fǫurti, fifti, sixti, seventi, ei3teti** (**ei3ti**), **ni3enti** (**nīn**(e)**ti**), **hundred** beside **hundreþ** (ON. **hundraþ**), **þousend**.

b. Ordinal Numerals.

§ 365. In passing from OE. to ME. some of the ordinals underwent analogical changes besides the regular phonological changes. From about the end of the thirteenth century onwards the French form **secounde** was used beside the English form **o̤þer**. Several of the ordinals were new formations formed direct from the corresponding ME. cardinals, as **sevenþe, nīnþe, tĕnþe, þrettẹ̄nþe** (**þrittẹ̄nþe**), &c., beside the regular forms **seveþe** (OE. **seofoþa**), **niȝeþe** (OE. **nigoþa**), **tẹ̄þe** (OE. **tēoþa**), **þrettẹ̄þe þrittẹ̄þe** (OE. **þrēotēoþa**), &c. Besides these new formations there were also others ending in **-de** which were partly or entirely due to ON. influence, as **sevende** (O.Nth. **seofunda, siofunda**, O.Icel. **sjaunde**), **niȝende, nīnde** (O.Icel. **nīonde**), **tĕnde** (O.Icel. **tīonde, tīunde**), **þrettĕnde, þrittĕnde** (O.Icel. **þrettānde**), &c. **hundred** and **þousend** had no ordinal forms in ME. just as in OE.

§ 366. The ME. ordinals are: **first, fürst, ferst, verst** (OE. **fyrest**), **o̤þer** (**secounde**), **þridde** (**þirde**), **fo̤urþe** (**ferþe, firþe**), **fifte, sixte, seveþe** (**sevenþe, sevende**), **eiȝteþe** (**eȝtende**, northern **aȝtand**), **niȝeþe** (**niȝende, nīnde, nīnþe**), **tẹ̄þe** (**tĕnþe, tĕnde**), **ellefte** (**ellevende**), **twelfte, þrettẹ̄þe** (**þrittẹ̄þe, þrettĕnþe, þrittĕnde**), and similarly **fo̤urtẹ̄þe, fiftẹ̄þe, sixtẹ̄þe, seventẹ̄þe**, &c., **twentiþe, þrittiþe**, &c.

c. Other Numerals.

§ 367. The ME. multiplicative numeral adjectives were formed from the cardinals and the suffix **-fō̤ld** (= OE. **-feald**), **ō̤nfo̤ld** beside the loan-word **simple, twō̤-, twō̤-fō̤ld** beside the loan-word **double, þrẹ̄fo̤ld**, &c., **fẹ̄lefō̤ld, manifō̤ld.**

§ 368. Adverbial multiplicatives are: **ō̤nes, ānes, ẹ̄nes** (OE. gen. **ænes**), **twīes, þrīes.** The remaining multiplicatives were expressed by **sīþe, tīmes**, as **fīf sīþe** (OE. **fīf sīþum**), **tīmes**, &c., **fẹ̄lesīþe, mani sīþe.**

§ 369. For the first, second, third, &c., time, were expressed by sīþe, tīme and the ordinals just as in OE., as þe þridde sīþe (OE. þriddan sīþe).

§ 370. The distributive numerals were expressed by bĭ along with a cardinal, or by two cardinals connected by and, as ǭn and ǭn, þrē and þrē; bĭ þrē, bĭ twelve, &c.

CHAPTER IX

PRONOUNS

1. PERSONAL

§ 371. The old accusative forms mec, þec, ūsic and ēowic of the first and second persons singular and plural had been supplanted by the old dative forms mĕ, þĕ, ūs, ēow already in late OE., so that the old datives were used to express both cases in ME. also. And in ME. the old accusative forms of the masculine and feminine and the old accusative plural forms of the third person were also supplanted by the old dative forms. The old genitives (OE. mīn, þīn, pl. ūre, ēower; his, hiere (hire), pl. hiera, hira, heora) lost their genitival meaning in fairly early ME. except in isolated phrases like ūre nǭn *none of us*, ūre aller *of all of us*. The old genitival meaning came to be expressed by the preposition of and the dative of the personal pronouns. The old dual forms nom. wit, ȝit; acc. dat. unc, inc; gen. uncer, incer occur in Laȝamon, *Ormulum*, *Genesis and Exodus*, *Havelok*, and *The Owl and the Nightingale*, but gradually disappeared in the latter half of the thirteenth century.

a. The First and Second Persons.

§ 372. Singular: Nom. accented form: northern ik, ic, Midland and southern ich (§ 285), but also ic until the beginning of the thirteenth century. The unaccented form

i began to be used in the northern and Midland dialects from the twelfth century onwards. At this early period i only occurred when the next word began with a consonant, but the i gradually came to be used also when the next word began with a vowel, and by about 1400 it had become the only form used in these dialects. Chaucer generally has i both for the accented and unaccented form. He rarely used ich. From i was formed at a later period a new accented form ī (= NE. ai), but the old unaccented form i has been preserved in many modern dialects in interrogative and subordinate sentences. The form ich was in use throughout the ME. period in the southern and south-western dialects. The forms ich (uch, utchy) along with contracted forms ch'am, &c., were formerly used in the modern dialects of Dor., Som., and Dev., and these forms are still used by old people in a small district of Som. close to Yeovil on the borders of Dor. Contracted forms were also common in the Elizabethan dramatists in the speech of rustics, as in *King Lear* chill *I will*, chud *I would*. Accusative and dative mĕ.

Nom. þū (þou) beside the unaccented form þŭ, which became tou (tŭ) when attached enclitically to a verb, as hastou, -tŭ *hast thou*, wiltou, tŭ *wilt thou* (cp. § 243). This form with t- has also been regularly preserved in interrogative and subordinate sentences in many of the modern dialects. Thou in its various dialect forms is still in general use in most of the modern dialects of England, but not in Scotland, to express familiarity or contempt, but it cannot be used to a superior without conveying the idea of impertinence. Accusative and dative þĕ. From the thirteenth century onwards ȝĕ (yĕ) began to be used for þou as the pronoun of respect in addressing a superior, and in the form ī (generally written ee) it has survived in most of the south Midland and southern dialects down to the present day. During the fourteenth century you also came to be used for both þou

and þē, and then in the fifteenth century **ye** also came to be used for the acc. þē and **you**.

Plural: nom. **wĕ**, acc. and dat. **ūs** (**ous**) beside the unaccented form **ŭs** (= NE. **us**); nom. **ʒĕ** (OE. **gĕ**), also written **ʒee**, **ye(e)**, **ʒhe**, **yhe**, &c., acc. and dat. **ʒo̤u** (**ʒo̤w**) **yo̤u** (for numerous variant spellings see *N. E. D.* s. v.) from OE. **eŏw** older **ĕow** (§ 112 note 1).

b. The Third Person.

§ 373. Masculine Singular: nom. **hĕ** beside the unaccented forms **ha**, **a**, rarely **e** (still preserved in the modern dialects in the form **ə**). The dat. **him** had supplanted the old acc. **hin(e)** in the northern and Midland dialects by about 1150, and in the southern dialects in the early part of the fourteenth century. But in the south Midland and southern dialects it must have remained in colloquial use throughout the ME. period, as is evidenced by the modern dialects of this area. **en**, **un** (= **ən**), the unaccented form of OE. **hine**, is still in general use in the modern dialects of the south Midland, southern, and south-western counties as the unaccented form of **'im**. It is also used of inanimate objects and in West Som. of feminine animals though never of women. Dative **him**.

§ 374. The Neuter Singular: Nom. Acc. **hit** (OE. **hit**) beside the unaccented form **it** (§ 301). **it** began to appear so early as the twelfth century, and in the fifteenth century supplanted the old accented form in the standard language. **hit** is still used in the modern dialects of Scotland and Northumberland. Dative **him**, which was never used for the accusative.

§ 375. The Feminine Singular: The nom. had several forms in ME. which arose partly from OE. **hīo** (**hēo**), Anglian **hīe** *she*, and partly from the OE. feminine demonstrative **sīo** (**sēo**), Anglian **sīe** *the, that*.

Although not expressed in writing, late OE. must have had double forms of hīo (hēo), hīe according as the stress remained on the first element of the diphthongs or was shifted on to the second element, as hío (héo), híe beside hjó (hjó), hjé. In late OE. hío only occurred in Kentish, where it also became a rising diphthong in early ME. (§ 67). The héo regularly became hę̄ in late OE. or early ME. (§ 65), and also in early ME. the forms hjó, hjé became differentiated into hǭ, ȝhǭ (also written ȝo, ȝeo, hyo, &c.) and hę̄, ȝhę̄ (also written ȝe, ge, ghe, hye, &c.) according as the j element entirely disappeared or united with the aspirate h to form a kind of spirant. So that apart from the sh-forms which will be dealt with below early ME. had the four forms hę̄, hǭ, ȝhę̄, ȝhǭ (cp. § 65 note). hę̄ (Ken. hĭ, § 67) beside the unaccented form ha occurs in the south Midland (but see below) and southern dialects, especially the south-western, until the middle of the fifteenth century, and was then gradually supplanted by schę̄ in literary records. The change in these dialects was probably due to the fact that the masculine and feminine had regularly fallen together in hę̄. But it must have remained in colloquial use, because in many of the dialects of the eastern, southern, and south-western counties ĭ (generally written he) is still used of feminine objects. hǭ beside the unaccented forms ha, a occurs throughout the ME. period in the west Midland dialects and also in parts of the south-western area, as is evidenced by the modern dialects which regularly have ŭ (generally written hoo) in the west Midland area. In the west Midland dialect of the fourteenth century there also occurs the form hue which is a direct descendant of OE. hēo, see § 65. The ME. forms ȝhę̄, ȝhǭ (Orm ȝhǭ) occur so far north as the east Midland dialect, but not in the northern dialects.

The late OE. simple demonstrative sīo (sēo), Anglian sīe must have had the double forms séo, síe beside sjó, sjé just like the above héo, híe beside hjó, hjé. The sjé,

sjǫ́ then regularly became in early ME. schē̤ (also written sge, shee, sse, se, &c.) and schǭ̤ (also written sco, sso, &c.). The type schē̤ was of east Midland origin, and the earliest record of it occurs in the form scæ in the *OE. Chronicle* (Laud MS.) of about the middle of the twelfth century. It is not recorded elsewhere until about a hundred years later when we find it written sge, sche, she in *Gen. & Ex.* From about 1250 it had become fully established in the east Midland dialects. From here it first spread to the south Midland dialects where it had become the general form by the middle of the fourteenth century, and by that time it had also begun to spread to the west Midland dialects, but it never became the colloquial form in the southern dialects during the ME. period. The type schǭ̤ was of north Midland and northern origin, and is first found in literary records towards the end of the thirteenth century. The regular descendant of schǭ̤ is still preserved in the form shŭ, unaccented shə, in many of the northern and north Midland dialects from Cum. to Der.

The OE. acc. hīe began to be supplanted by the dat. hiere, hire so early as the tenth century, and by the time of the early ME. period the hīe had been supplanted by hire, hir; here, her in all the dialects except Kentish where it lingered on into the early part of the fourteenth century.

§ 376. The Plural: In early ME. the OE. acc. hīe, hī was supplanted by the dative hem beside the unaccented forms ham, hom (= OE. him, hiom, heom) in the northern and Midland dialects, but the old form hĭ lingered on in the southern and south-eastern dialects until about the middle of the fourteenth century. From this hĭ was formed in the late twelfth century a new acc. plural (also used as acc. fem. singular) hise (his, hes) beside the unaccented forms is (es) which were often attached enclitically to a preceding word. These forms remained in these dialects until about the end of the fourteenth century, and then became obsolete.

The ordinary ME. plural forms are partly of native and partly of Scandinavian origin. In the east Midland dialects the native nom. pl. **hĭ, he** had begun to be supplanted by the Scandinavian form **þei** (ON. **þeir**) in the twelfth century, and **þei** (written **þe33**) is the only form found in the *Ormulum* (1200). By the early part of the fourteenth century it had become general in this dialect. It had also become general in the south Midland dialects before the middle of the fourteenth century, in the west Midland dialects by the second half of the fourteenth century, and in the southern dialects, including Kentish, during the fifteenth century. In the northern dialects **þai** (**þei**) is the only form even in the oldest ME. records. The substitution of the Scandinavian dat. form **þeim** for the early ME. native form **hem** did not take place concurrently with that of **þei** for **hĭ** in the various dialects. Orm has dat. and acc. **þe33m** beside **hemm**, but in the other east Midland texts **þeim** does not occur until the fifteenth century. It had become general in the Midland and southern dialects from about 1500. In the northern dialects **þaim** (**þam**) was general in the oldest ME. records. In all the modern dialects the accented form is **ðem**, but in the dialects of England the unaccented form is **əm** (= OE. **heom**), and similarly in colloquial standard NE.

2. REFLEXIVE

§ 377. When the personal pronouns were used reflexively in OE. the word **self** (declined strong and weak) was often added to emphasize them, as **ic self** beside **ic selfa**, acc. **mec selfne**, gen. **mīn selfes**, dat. **mĕ selfum**; or with the dative of the personal pronoun prefixed to the nominative **self**, as **ic mĕ self**, pl. **wĕ ūs selfe**, and similarly in early ME. From the early part of the thirteenth century new forms began to appear. In the first and second persons singular the form **self** came to be regarded as a noun and then the possessive pronoun was substituted for the dative of the

personal pronoun, as **mī self, þī self** beside older **mĕ self, þĕ self,** and then in the early part of the fourteenth century this new formation was extended to the plural also, as **our(e) self(e), selve(n), ȝo̤ur(e) self(e), selve(n)** beside older **wĕ ūs selve(n), ȝĕ ȝo̤u selve(n).** And then towards the end of the fifteenth century the present s-plurals **ourselves, yo̤urselves** came into existence and eventually became the standard forms. This change in the formation of the reflexive pronouns did not take place in the third person so early as in the first and second persons. **his selve(n), þeir(e) selve(n), þair(e) selve(n)** beside **hem selve(n), þem selve(n)** did not begin to appear until the first half of the fourteenth century. All these new formations of the third person disappeared in the standard language about the end of the fifteenth century, but have remained in the dialects down to the present day. The s-plural **themselves** came into existence about 1500 and during the first half of the sixteenth century became the standard form. From the form alone it cannot be determined whether the **hire** in ME. **hire self** and the **her** in NE. **herself** represent the old dat. acc. or the old possessive.

In ME. as in OE. the reflexive pronouns were often also expressed simply by the acc. dat. forms of the personal pronouns as is very often the case in the modern dialects, as *And for bonnie Annie Laurie I'd lay me down and dee.*

3. POSSESSIVE

§ 378. The OE. possessive pronouns **mīn, þīn, sīn** *his, her, its* were declined in the singular and plural, all genders, like an ordinary strong adjective. Instead of **sīn,** which was mostly used in poetry, the genitive of the personal pronouns was generally used (masc. and neut. **his,** fem. **hiere, hire**). **sīn** did not survive in ME. The other possessive pronouns were expressed by the genitive of the personal pronouns, as **ūre** beside **ūser** which did not survive in ME.; **ēower;**

hiera, hira, hiora, heora. OE. ūre was declined like an ordinary strong adjective, see *EOE. Gr.* § 308. The old dual forms **uncer, incer** disappeared in the thirteenth century.

§ 379. In ME. we have to distinguish between the conjunctive and disjunctive use of the possessive pronouns:—

a. Conjunctive.

The conjunctive forms were: singular **mīn, þīn** before a following word beginning with a vowel, and **mī, þī** when the next word began with a consonant (cp. § 247). The plural forms were **mīne, þīne.** From **mī, þī** were formed in the southern dialects of the twelfth century the fem. dat. sing. **mīre, þīre** after the analogy of forms like **hire, ūre (oure)**, and similarly the fem. dat. form **ǭre** from **ǭ** *one.* **his** with a plural form **hise.** Beside **his** the form **hit** was used in the west Midland dialects of the fourteenth century, and similarly **it** in the Elizabethan dramatists, and in the modern northern and most of the Midland dialects, where in standard NE. we use **its.** The old neut. possessive **his** has been preserved in the modern Hampshire dialects. **hir(e), her(e)** *her*, **our(e), ȝo̧ur(e).** To express **their** the northern dialects had **þair(e)** (ON. **þeir(r)a**) in the earliest ME. records, also written **þaier, þeir** beside the unaccented forms **þer(e), þar(e),** and **þeȝȝre** beside **heore** also occurs in the *Ormulum* of the east Midland dialect. The usual forms in the Midland and southern dialects were **her(e), hir(e)** with their variants **hor(e), har(e), hur(e),** &c. By the latter half of the fifteenth century **þeir (þair)** had spread to all the dialects.

b. Disjunctive.

In OE. and early ME. the disjunctive and the conjunctive possessive pronouns were alike in form. The differentiation in form first began to appear in the northern dialects towards the end of the thirteenth century, and had gradually spread to all the other dialects by about 1500, although in some

southern writers the old forms are found until well on into the seventeenth century.

The disjunctive forms were **mīn, þīn**, pl. **mīne, þīne ; his.** The possessive pronouns ending in **-r(e)** took a new genitive ending **-es**, as **hires heres** *hers*, **ūres oures, ȝo̤ures, heres (þaires, þeires)** *theirs*. These new formations began to appear in the northern dialects towards the end of the thirteenth century, whence they gradually spread to the Midland dialects in the latter part of the fourteenth century. In the southern dialects the usual forms throughout the ME. period were : **hir(e) her(e)** *hers*, **our(e), ȝo̤ur(e), her(e)** *theirs*. Besides the above forms the southern and Midland dialects had forms ending in **-n** which began to be formed after the analogy of **mīn, þīn** from about the middle of the fourteenth century, as **hisen (hisn, hizzen, hysene), hiren (hern, huron)** *hers*, **ouren (ourn), ȝo̤uren (ȝo̤urn), hiren (heren, hern)** *theirs*, and in the Midland, eastern, southern, and south-western dialects all the disjunctive pronouns including **theirn** end in **-n** right down to the present day.

4. DEMONSTRATIVE

§ 380. The OE. demonstrative **sĕ, þæt, sīo (sēo)** was used to express the definite article *the* and the demonstrative *that*, and was declined as follows :—

Sing.	*Masc.*	*Neut.*	*Fem.*
Nom.	**sĕ**	**þæt**	**sīo, sēo**
Acc.	**þone**	**þæt**	**þā**
Gen.	**þæs**	**þæs**	**þære**
Dat.	**þæm, þām**	**þæm, þām**	**þære**
Instr.		**þȳ, þon**	

Plur. all Genders.	
Nom. Acc.	**þā**
Gen.	**þāra, þēra**
Dat.	**þæm, þām**

The late OE. weakened inflected forms were for the most part preserved in early ME. The inflected forms of the singular began to be lost from about the middle of the twelfth century. This loss of inflexion began much earlier in the northern and Midland than in the southern and Kentish dialects. In fact it was only in these latter dialects that the inflected forms were preserved for any length of time in ME. The s-form of the nom. masc. and fem. singular had begun to take þ- from the oblique forms in late OE., and by about the middle of the thirteenth century it had disappeared in all the dialects except Kentish where the masc. **ze**, and fem. **zy** remained until about a century later. In the northern and east Midland dialects the uninflected nom. masc. and fem. form þĕ had come to be simply *the* by about 1150, and almost everywhere else by about 1300. The neuter **þat** (south-eastern dialects **þet**) remained with the meaning *the* for some time longer before words beginning with a vowel, but by about 1200 (e.g. in the *Ormulum*) it had begun to be used more definitely with the meaning *that* as opposed to *this* than with the meaning *the*. Inflected forms of some of the oblique cases lingered on in the southern dialects until about 1400.

§ 381. The early ME. inflected forms were:—

Singular: Besides þĕ the masc. nom. sĕ (Ken. zĕ) also occurs, and the fem. nom. **se, si, syo** (Ken. **zy**) beside þēo, and the old acc. þǭ, **þa**, **þæ** used for the nom. in the thirteenth century. Accusative masc. **þan**(e), **þon**(e), **þen**(e); fem. þǭ, **þa** beside the old nom. **þeo**, **þīe**. Genitive masc. and neut. **þæs**, **þas**, **þes** (Orm **þess**), **þeos** (Laȝamon, 1205); fem. **þer**(e), **þar**(e); Dative masc. and neut. **þæn**, **þen**, **þon**, **þan**, Ken. also **þo** in the first half of the fourteenth century; fem. **þer**(e), **þar**(e), Laȝamon also **þære**. But beside these inflected forms the uninflected form þē had come to be used in early ME. as the definite article for all cases and genders of the singular except in a few isolated phrases like **atte**

nāle (OE. æt þǣm ealoþ), for þe nǭnes = for þen ǭnes found in Chaucer, &c. þī *therefore, because* = the OE. instrumental neuter þȳ remained in use until about the middle of the thirteenth century, also in the compound forþī *because, for this reason, therefore* until the end of the fourteenth century, and in the weakened form þe before comparatives until the present day. þon = OE. þon in the compound forþon *therefore* remained until the middle of the fifteenth century, and in the northern dialects until the end of the eighteenth century.

þat (þet) remained longer as the neuter of the definite article in the southern than in the Midland and northern dialects. þat for all genders with the plural þā = OE. þā had come to be used exclusively as a demonstrative in the *Ormulum* (1200), and then about 1300 þās = OE. þās, which was properly the plural of the OE. word for *this*, began to be used in the northern dialects of England as the plural of þat. þǭs (§ 51) corresponding to the northern þās did not become common as the plural of þat in the Midland and southern dialects until the latter part of the fifteenth century. The old ending of the OE. neuter form of the definite article survives in tone = OE. þæt ān, and toðer = OE. þæt ōþer in all the modern dialects.

Plural: The early ME. inflected forms of the plural were:—Nom. acc. þā in the northern dialects and þǭ in the dialects south of the Humber (§ 51). Genitive þar(e), þer(e). Dative þan, þon, þen. These gen. and dat. forms disappeared in the first half of the thirteenth century. As in the singular (see above) so also in the plural the uninflected form þĕ came to be used at an early period as the definite article for all cases and genders of the plural just as in Chaucer, &c. And then the northern þă and the Midland and southern þǭ came to be used only as the plural of the demonstrative þat just as in Chaucer, &c. The regular descendants (ðē, ȝeə, iə) of ME. þā *those* have remained in

the dialects of Scotland and in some of the northern counties of England down to the present day. þǭs with the meaning *those* began to be used in the Midland and southern dialects from about 1475, and by about 1550 had completely supplanted the form þǭ. It is a remarkable fact that **those** is not used in genuine dialect speech in any of the modern dialects. For the various ways in which it is expressed see *ED. Gr.* § 420.

§ 382. The OE. forms for *this*, plural *these* were: masc. þĕs, neut. þis, fem. þīos (þēos), plural þās. This pronoun was declined as follows:—

Sing.	*Masc.*	*Neut.*	*Fem.*
Nom.	þĕs	þis	þīos, þēos
Acc.	þisne	þis	þās
Gen.	þis(s)es	þis(s)es	þisse
Dat.	þis(s)um	þis(s)um	þisse
Instr.		þȳs, þīs	

Plur. all Genders.

Nom. Acc.		þās
	Gen.	þissa
	Dat.	þis(s)um

The medial ·ss· was often simplified to ·s·. In the dat. sing. and pl. Anglian has þios(s)um, þeos(s)um with u-umlaut beside þis(s)um. Fem. gen. and dat. sing. þisse from older *þisre, gen. pl. þissa from older *þisra; in late OE. there also occur þissere, þissera with ·re, ·ra from the simple demonstrative, beside þisre, þisra with syncope of the medial vowel and simplification of the ss, see *EOE. Gr.* § 310.

The late OE. weakened inflected forms were for the most part preserved until about the middle of the twelfth century,

but by the end of the century the neuter nom. acc. sing. þis had come to be used in the east Midland dialect (*Ormulum*) and doubtless also in the north Midland and northern dialects for all cases and genders of the singular, by the fourteenth century it had spread to the south Midland dialects (Chaucer, &c.), and by the fifteenth century to all the dialects.

§ 383. The early ME. inflected forms were :—

Singular: Nom. masc. þĕs beside the new forms þus, þeos; fem. þeos, þies, þyos, þas (Laȝamon), þues (§ 65). Already at this early period the nom. masc. came to be used for the feminine, as þies (§ 9), and the fem. for the masculine, as þeos, þus. The old masc. þēs, and fem. þeos, þues were preserved in the southern dialects until the middle of the fourteenth century. Accusative masc. þisne, þesne, þusne (Laȝamon); fem. þās, þes. Genitive masc. and neut. þisses, þesses, þisis; fem. þisse, þissere. Dative masc. and neut. þissen, þisse, þisen, þise; þisse beside the new form þusse. The instrumental neut. (OE. þȳs, þīs *like this, thus*) seems not to have been common in ME. as it only occurs sporadically between 1375 and the end of the sixteenth century, see *N. E. D.*

Plural: Old inflected forms of the gen. and dat. are only found in the southern dialects, and even there the gen. þissere disappeared about the end of the twelfth century, and the dat. þis(s)en, þesse(n) is not found so late as 1340 except in the *Ayenbite*. As we have already seen (§ 381) the old nom. acc. pl. þās, þǭs = OE. þās *these* came to be used at an early period for the plural of þat with the meaning *those*. Before this change in function took place the plural, irrespective of gender, had often come to be expressed by the masc. nom. sing. þĕs and the neut. nom. acc. þis before the end of the twelfth century, and in some of the south-western dialects by þūs or þōs (OE. þēos, § 65) in the thirteenth century, but side by side with these singular forms the new

plurals þēse, þise, þūse or þōse were formed by adding -e to the singular after the analogy of the adjectival plural in -e. It should be noted that the ē in þēs, þēse can represent both the ē in OE. þēs and the OE. ēo in the fem. þēos (§ 65), so that the forms þēs, þēse may be partly of feminine origin. þēs, þēse seem to occur earliest in the Midland dialects, and then to have spread to the northern dialects, and by about 1500 to all the dialects. From the fourteenth century onwards the northern dialects also had þir (? from ON. þeir) as well as the variants þire, þeir(e), þair, þier, þer(e), þar(e), which has remained in the dialects of Scotland and the northern counties of England down to the present day. þis, þise (Orm, &c., þise) were special Midland forms, and remained in these dialects until about 1500, by which time they had been supplanted by þēsę (Chaucer has þisę beside þēsę, generally spelt þes). þūs or þōs, þūse or þōse occur in some of the south-western dialects from the thirteenth until well on into the fifteenth century, and were then supplanted by þēsę.

Note.—The precise quality of the ē in ME. þēse is uncertain. The ordinary ME. spelling may represent ę̄ or ę̄. In the sixteenth century it was often spelt þeis which points to ę̄, and the pronunciation of the various forms for *these* in many of the modern dialects also presupposes a late OE. form þǣs which according to the *N. E. D.* did exist.

§ 384. Other ME. demonstrative pronouns are :—

In OE. ilca *same* only occurred in combination with the definite article, as sĕ ilca, þæt, sēo ilce *the same*, and was inflected like a weak adjective. In ME. we have þe ilke, þat ilke, þis ilke *the same* ; þe ilke was often contracted into þilke ; self, which in OE. and early ME. was inflected according to the strong or weak declension of adjectives ; ȝon, pl. ȝone ; ȝond is also used as a demonstrative *that* in the *Ormulum*.

5. RELATIVE

§ 385. A relative pronoun proper did not exist in the oldest periods of any of the Germanic languages, and for that reason it was expressed in various ways in the separate languages. In OE. it was expressed by the relative particle þe alone or in combination with the personal or the simple demonstrative pronoun, and for the third person also by the simple demonstrative pronoun alone, see *EOE. Gr.* § 312.

þe alone was also used in early ME., especially in the southern dialects, but it had gone out of general use by about 1250, after which date it is only found sporadically. The combination of the simple demonstrative pronoun with þe for expressing the relative pronoun died out about 1100. From the twelfth century onwards the uninflected old demonstrative neuter **þat** came to be used for the singular and plural of all genders, but for **þat** the ON. form **at** was used in the northern and some of the north Midland dialects in the oldest ME. records, and it is the usual form in the dialects of this area down to the present day. In order to indicate more clearly the gender and case of the antecedent to the relative it became common in the fourteenth century to add the personal pronoun of the third person to the **þat**, as **þat . . . he (sche)** = *who*; **þat . . . it** = *which*; **þat . . . his** = *whose*; **þat . . . him** = *whom*, &c.; and similarly with **which**, as **which . . . his** = *whose*, &c. These and similar constructions continued in general use until the end of the fifteenth century, and then became obsolete in the sixteenth century. **which** (plural **which(e)**), referring both to persons and things, and the oblique cases **whǭs, whǭm** of the interrogative pronoun **whǭ whō**, also came to be used as relatives at an early period. In later ME. the definite article þe was often added in front of **which** after the analogy of French usage, as **þe which** = **lequel**, and similarly

also sometimes with þat. **What**, referring to things and rarely to personal pronouns or sentences, began to be used as a relative in the early part of the thirteenth century.

6. INTERROGATIVE

§ 386. The OE. simple interrogative pronoun had no independent form for the feminine, and was declined in the singular only, as

	Masc. Fem.	*Neut.*
Nom.	**hwă**	**hwæt**
Acc.	**hwone**	**hwæt**
Gen.	**hwæs**	**hwæs**
Dat.	**hwæm, hwām**	**hwæm, hwām**
Instr.		**hwȳ, hwī**

The old acc. form **hwone** disappeared in early ME., and its place was taken by the dative **whǭm whǭm**, northern **quām quhām**. The ME. gen. **whǭs whǭs**, northern **quās quhās** with **ǭ** (**ǭ**), **ā** from the nominative and dative. The old instrumental was preserved in **whī whȳ** *why*. **which** (northern **quilk**), OE. **hwelc, hwilc, hwylc**; ME. pl. **whiche, whichę**.

7. INDEFINITE

§ 387. The more important ME. indefinite pronouns are:—**au3t** (OE. **āwiht**) *anything, aught*, **nau3t** (OE. **nāwiht**) *nothing, naught*, **auþer** (OE. **āhwæþer, āwþer**) *one of two*, **nauþer** (OE. **nāhwæþer, nāwþer**) *neither of two*, **ęch**, northern **ilk** (OE. **ælc**) *each*, **eni, ani** (OE. **ænig**) *any*, see § 92, 2, **eiþer, Orm e33þerr** (OE. **æghwæþer**) *each of two*, **neiþer** *neither of two*, **man** (pl. **men**, unaccented form **me**) *one*, **nǭn**, northern **nān** *none*, but **nǭ, nā** when the next word begins with a vowel; **ǫu3t** (OE. **ōwiht** later **ōht, oht**) *anything, aught*, see § 113, 5, **nǫu3t** (OE. **nōwiht**) *nothing, naught*, **ǫuþer** (OE. **ōhwæþer, ōwþer**) *one of two*, **nǫuþer** (OE. **nōhwæþer, nōwþer**) *neither of two*, **sum som** (pl. **sume some**) *some one*,

swich, siche, suche, northern swilk suilk (OE. swylc) *such*, beside northern slik (ON. slīkr) *such*.

CHAPTER X

VERBS

§ 388. In treating the history of the verbs from OE. to the end of the ME. period we shall generally follow the same order as that adopted in the *EOE. Gr.* §§ 316–95.

The ME., like the OE. verb, has the following independent forms: one voice (active), two numbers, three persons, two tenses (present and preterite), two complete moods (indicative and subjunctive), besides an imperative which is only used in the present tense; one verbal noun (the present infinitive), a present participle with active meaning, and one verbal adjective (the past participle).

§ 389. ME. verbs like the OE. are divided into two great classes:—Strong and Weak. The strong verbs form their preterite and past participle by means of ablaut (*EOE. Gr.* § 103). The weak verbs form their preterite by the addition of a syllable containing a dental (OE. -de, -te) and their past participle by means of a dental suffix (OE. -d, -t). Besides these two great classes of strong and weak verbs, there are a few others, which will be treated under the general heading of *Minor Groups*.

§ 390. The chief characteristic differences between the OE. and ME. verbal forms are:—(*a*) the weakening of the OE. vowels a and o to e in medial and final syllables, and the gradual loss of many of the old verbal endings; (*b*) the numerous levellings and analogical formations which took place, especially in the preterite both of strong and weak verbs; (*c*) many of the OE. strong verbs became weak in ME. either in the preterite or past participle or in both.

ME. VERBAL ENDINGS

a. The Present.

§ 391. The normal ME. endings of the present are:—

Indic.	S. and Ken.	E.M.	W.M.	N.
Sing.	-e, (e)st, -(e)þ	-e, -est, -eþ	-e, -es(t), -es	-e, -es, -es
Pl.	-eþ	-en	-en (-es)	-es

Subj. Sing. -e, pl. -en in all the dialects. OE. sing. -e, pl. -en.

Imper. Sing. —, -e, pl. M. and S. -eþ, N. -es.

Pres. Part. M. -ende (but south-west Midland inde), S. -inde (later -inge, -ing), N. -and(e), § 138.

Inf. -en (OE. -an).

The east Midland dialects often have -es for -eþ in the third pers. sing. from the northern dialects, and similarly -es for -est, -eþ in the west Midland dialects. For the northern ending -is and the west Midland endings -us, -ust, -uþ see § 134. The OE. West Saxon syncopated and contracted forms of the second and third persons singular were generally preserved in the ME. southern dialects, as **bintst, bint; rīst, rīst; sitst, sit; stantst, stant,** see § 239. The ending -eþ of the third pers. singular and plural has been preserved in the form -ð among the older generation of dialect speakers in Somersetshire and Devonshire. The Midland plural ending -en of the pres. indicative was a new formation from the endings of the present subjunctive and preterite indicative. This plural ending in -en has been preserved in many of the modern Midland dialects. In the OE. period the Northumbrian dialect had -es beside -est in the second pers. singular, -es beside -eþ in the third pers. singular, and -as beside -aþ in the plural. In early ME. the endings with -t and -þ gradually disappeared, and then later -es was extended to the first pers. singular, so that

eventually the whole of the singular and plural ended in -es. The northern plural ending -es spread at an early period to the west Midland dialects bordering on the northern. In the modern Scottish, northern, and most of the north Midland dialects all persons singular and plural take -s, -z (or -əz) when not immediately preceded or followed by their proper pronoun, that is, when the subject is a noun, an interrogative or relative pronoun, or when the verb and the subject are separated by a clause. Through the ME. weakening of the OE. endings the present of all classes of weak verbs fell together except in the southern and Kentish dialects which had the endings -ie in the first pers. singular, -ieþ in the plural and -ien in the inf. of the verbs which in OE. belonged to class II, and verbs of the type **werian** *to defend*, belonging to class I (*EOE. Gr.* §§ 370, 380). In the modern south-western dialects, especially those of Dor., Som., and Dev., the old ending -i, generally written **y**, has been preserved in intransitive verbs. In the plural of the imperative the west Midland dialects often have -es from the northern dialects. This also occurs occasionally in the east Midland dialects. From about the end of the thirteenth century the southern dialects have the ending -inge (-ing) beside -inde in the present participle, which was due to the influence of the old endings -inge, -ing (OE. -ung, -ing) of the verbal noun. In Chaucer the present participle regularly ends in -ing(e). The OE. ending -anne of the inflected infinitive was only preserved with simplification of -nn- to -n- in a few monosyllabic verbs, as tō dǭne : dǭn *to do*, tō sēne : sēn *to see*. On the loss of final -n see §§ **147, 247.**

b. The Preterite.

§ **392.** The normal ME. endings of the preterite are :—

Indic. { Strong verbs sing. —, -e, —, pl. -en
Weak „ „ -e, -est (-es), -e, pl. -en

Subj. strong and weak verbs sing. **-e**, pl. **-en**. OE. **-e**, pl. **-en**.

Pp.: strong verbs **-en**, weak verbs **-ed** (**-d**), **-t**.

The personal endings of the preterite indicative were lost fairly early in the northern dialects, so that the singular and plural had the same form throughout, as **spak, māked,** &c., whereas the other dialects preserved the old difference between the singular and plural as in Chaucer. In the northern dialects the preterite indicative came to be used at an early period for the subjunctive, as northern **band** beside Midland and southern **bounde**, pl. **bounden**. This change had also taken place in the Midland dialects before Chaucer's time. The past participle was rarely inflected even in early ME. The prefix **ȝe-**, later **i-**, **y-** (§ **240**) disappeared early in the northern dialects, and mostly also in the Midland dialects. It remained longest in the southern dialects. It has been preserved in the form **ə-** in many of the modern south Midland and south-western dialects. For **-ed** in the past participle of weak verbs the northern dialects generally had **-id**, the Scottish **-it**, and the west Midland **-ud** (**-ut**), see §§ **134, 239**; and similarly in the preterite after the loss of final **-e** (§ **141**).

§ **393.** The final **-n** of the infinitive disappeared in the OE. period in Northumbrian, whereas in the pp. of strong verbs it remained throughout the ME. period in the northern dialects. It also disappeared fairly early in the infinitive and pp. of strong verbs in the Midland and southern dialects, and in the indicative present plural of the Midland dialects, as well as in the plural of the present subjunctive, the plural of the preterite indicative and subjunctive of all the dialects, cp. § **247**.

A. STRONG VERBS

§ **394.** In ME. as in OE. the strong verbs are divided into seven classes. Before giving examples of the various

classes of strong verbs, it will be useful to state here in a connected manner some of the changes which these verbs underwent in general during the ME. period :—

1. In the present of verbs belonging to the third, fourth, and fifth classes the ĕ of the first person singular and of the plural was levelled out into the second and third persons singular, as **helpe, helpest, helpeþ** = OE. **helpe, hilp(e)st, hilp(e)þ**; **bę̄re, bę̄rest, bę̄reþ** = OE. **bere, bir(e)st, bir(e)þ**; **ę̄te, ę̄test, ę̄teþ** = OE. **ete, it(e)st, iteþ, it(t)**.

2. The unmutated forms of the first person singular and of the plural of the present were levelled out into the second and third persons singular, except in a few monosyllabic forms of the southern dialects, as **falle, fallest, falleþ** = OE. **fealle, fielst, fielþ**, but southern **gǭ, gę̄st, gę̄þ** = OE. **gā, gǣst, gǣþ**.

3. Verbs which had double consonants in the first person singular and in the plural of the present levelled out the double consonants (except **bb, gg**) into the second and third persons singular, as **falle, fallest, falleþ** = OE. **fealle, fielst, fielþ**; **sitte, sittest, sitteþ** = OE. **sitte, sitst, sit(t)**.

4. The old form of the second person singular of the preterite was generally preserved in early ME. in the Midland and southern dialects, as **bounde, spę̄ke spę̄ke** beside **band** (**bond**), **spak** of the first and third persons singular, but in the northern dialects the form of the first and third person singular became generalized for the singular at an early period, and similarly later in the Midland and southern dialects, which at a still later period often added **-est** from the present of the second person singular. Chaucer has the old beside the new form, as **songe** (= **sunge**), **bę̄re bę̄re** beside **drank, spak.**

5. In the northern dialects the preterite singular had begun to be levelled out into the plural already at the beginning of the fourteenth century, whereas in the Midland and southern dialects the old distinction between the stem-

vowels of the singular and plural forms was generally preserved throughout the ME. period, but even in Chaucer the singular was sometimes levelled out into the plural. On the other hand the form of the plural was sometimes levelled out into the singular in the Midland and southern dialects, as sę̄t(e) sę̄t(e), pl. sę̄ten sę̄ten, beside northern sat, pl. sat(e).

6. In the second class of strong verbs the preterite plural was generally remodelled on the past participle, as crǭpen for older crupen (OE. crupon), pp. crǭpen (OE. cropen) *crept*.

7. In OE. the preterite singular and plural of the seventh class of strong verbs had ē or ēo, but as ēo became ę̄ in ME. all the verbs of this class, which remained strong in ME., had ę̄ in the preterite, see § 65.

8. In the northern dialects the preterite indicative came to be used at an early period for the preterite subjunctive, which was generally also the case in Chaucer.

9. The final -n of the past participle remained throughout the ME. period in the northern dialects, whereas in the other dialects it disappeared fairly early, as northern cumen, tāken, beside ycome, ytāke in the other dialects.

10. The participial ending -en became -n after liquids, and after long vowels and diphthongs, as stǭln, bǭrn, swǭrn; leyn, seyn, slayn (§§ 144, 147).

11. Only a few verbs preserved the operation of Verner's Law (*EOE. Gr.* §§ 115, 116), as wę̄ren wę̄ren : was, forlǭr(e)n : forlę̄sen, sǭden : sę̄þen.

12. As early as the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries many of the OE. strong verbs had begun to have weak beside the strong forms, and some verbs had become entirely weak before the end of the ME. period. All the French verbs were weak in ME. except strīven (O.Fr. estriver). ON. verbs remained strong or weak according as they were strong or weak in ON.

Full Conjugation of a ME. Strong Verb.

§ 395. The early ME. inflexion of bĭnden will serve as a model for the conjugation of strong verbs generally.

Present.

Indicative.

	S. and Ken.	E.M.	W.M.	N.	OE.
Sing. 1.	bīnde	bīnde	bīnde	binde	binde
2.	bintst	bīndest	bīndes(t)	bindes	bindest, bintst
3.	bint	bīndeþ, -es	bīndeþ, -es	bindes	bindeþ, bint
Plur.	bīndeþ	bīnden	bīnden, -es	bindes	bindaþ

Subjunctive.

Sing. bĭnde } in all the dialects, OE. binde, pl. binden.
Plur. bĭnden }

Imperative.

Sing. bĭnd in all the dialects, OE. bind.

Plur. N. bindes, but bīndeþ in the other dialects, OE. bindaþ.

Infinitive.

N. binde, but bīnden in the other dialects, OE. bindan.

Present Participle.

N. bindand, M. bīndende, S. and Ken. bīndinde, OE. bindende, cp. § 391.

Preterite.

Indicative.

	S. and Ken.	M.	N.	OE.
Sing. 1.	bond	band (bond)	band	band (bond)
2.	bounde	bounde	band	bunde
3.	bond	band (bond)	band	band (bond)
Plur.	bounden	bounden	band(en)	bunden

Subjunctive.

	S. and Ken.	M.	N.	OE.
Sing.	bounde	bounde	band	bunde
Plur.	bounden	bounden	band(en)	bunden

Participle.

	ȝebounde(n)	ȝebounde(n)	bunden	(ge)bunden

The Classification of Strong Verbs.

Class I.

§ 396.	OE.	ī	ā (§ 51)	i	i
	ME.	ī	ǭ (N. ā)	i	i
		bīten	bǭt (N. bāt)	biten	biten
		drīven	drǭf (N. drāf)	driven	driven

And similarly abīden (bīden), agrīsen *to be horrified*, arīsen (rīsen), bistrīden, biswīken *to deceive*, clīven *to adhere*, flīten *to quarrel*, glīden, grīpen *to grip, seize*, rīden, rīnen *to touch*, rīven (ON. rīfa) *to tear*, schīnen, schrīven, slīden, slīten *to sīit*, smīten, strīden, strīken, strīven (O.Fr. estriver), þrīven (ON. þrīfa), wrīten, wrīþen *to twist*. On preterites like bǭte, arǭse (s = z), drǭve beside older bǭt, arǭs, drǭf, cp. §§ 140, 266, 277; and on early shortenings like droff(e, schroff(e see § 100.

§ 397. As early as the fourteenth century many of the verbs in the preceding paragraph had begun to have weak beside the strong forms either in the preterite or past participle or in both, as bīted(e, bīted; schīned(e, schīned; and similarly with grīpen, schrīven, strīken, strīven, þrīven; and with shortening of the stem-vowel, as slitte, y-slit (cp. §§ 87, 93), and similarly with flīten, slīden, slīten, smīten. Some verbs passed over entirely into the weak conjugation, as dwīnen *to disappear*, dwīned(e, dwīned; spiwen (§ 116), spiwed(e, spiwed; sīken sīchen (OE. sīcan) *to sigh*, pret. sĭȝte, pp. y-sĭȝt formed after the analogy

of verbs like sǫu3te, y-sǫu3t (§ 426) : sę̄ken sę̄chen *to seek*, from the preterite and pp. was formed the new present sīhen sī3en sīghen in the fourteenth century; &c.

§ 398. sī3en, sīen sȳen = OE. sīgan (§ 122, 2) *to sink, fall*; pret. sing. sā3, sǭ3, sę̄3, sey (§ 107, 5) beside late ME. weak seit seyt seyit; pp. y-sigen (se3en). stī3en, stīen stȳen = OE. stīgan (§ 122, 2), steien *to ascend*; pret. sing. stā3, stawe (§ 110, 4), stę̄3 (stei3) beside weak stīde, stīede, stī3ed(e, stę̄3ed(e, pl. sti3en, stīen stȳen (§ 122, 1), stǭwen (§ 113, 3); pp. sti3en, stīen stȳen, stǭ3en beside weak stī3ed, steied. wrę̄n (OE. wrēon) *to cover*; pret. sing. wrę̄3 (wrei3), pl. wri3en, wrīen wrȳen; pp. wri3en, wrīen wrȳen. þę̄n (OE. þēon) *to thrive*; pret. sing. þę̄3 (þei3), pl. þǭ3en (þǫwen); pp. þǭ3en (þǫwen). The pret. sing. sę̄3, stę̄3 (stei3), wrę̄3 (wrei3) were formed after the analogy of class II (§ 401), and þę̄n (OE. þēon, þāh, þigon, þigen) went over entirely into this class.

Class II.

§ 399.	OE.	ēo	ēa	u	o
	ME.	ę̄	ę̄	ǭ (u)	ǭ
		flę̄ten *to flow*	flę̄t	flǭten (fluten)	flǭten

In early ME. the pret. plural regularly had u, but later the verbs of this class generally had ǭ from the past participle; and similarly brę̄wen (§ 112, 1) *to brew*, chę̄wen (chǫwen, cp. § 65 note) *to chew*, clę̄ven *to cleave*, crę̄pen *to creep*, 3ę̄ten *to pour*, rę̄wen *to rue*. bę̄den *to bid, command*, pret. sing. bę̄d beside bedd with early shortening (cp. § 100), bǭd (see § 394, 5), and bad due to mixing up of bidden (§ 410) with bę̄den, pl. buden, bǭden, bedden (see § 394, 5), pp. bǭden, late ME. bodden with shortening of the stem-vowel. schę̄ten (schūten, schǭten, cp. § 65 and note) beside schott(en with early shortening *to shoot*, pret. sing. schę̄t, pl. schǭten beside schotten; pp. schǭten, later schotten,

schot. Many of the above verbs had weak beside the strong forms as early as the fourteenth century, as pret. and pp. **brẹwed(e, brẹud, brued**; **clẹ̄ved(e** (**clefte, cleft** with shortening of the stem-vowel, see § **92**, 2); and similarly **crẹ̄ped(e** (**crepte, crept**); **flẹ̄ted(e** (**flette**); **rẹwed(e**; **schotte, schott.**

§ **400.** **sẹ̄þen** *to seethe*, pret. sing. **sẹ̄þ**, pl. **sǭden** (**suden**) beside weak **sẹ̄þed(e**, pp. **sǭden** (**sǭþen**); **chẹ̄sen** (**chūsen, chǭsen** *to choose*, cp. § **65** and note), pret. sing. **chẹ̄s** (= OE. **cēas**), **chās, chǭs** (= OE. **ceās**), pl. **cǭren** (**curen**), **chǭsen, chẹ̄sen** (cp. § **394**, 5) beside weak **chẹ̄sed(e, chūsed(e**, pp. **cǭren, cŏrn, chǭsen**; and similarly **frẹ̄sen** *to freeze*, **forlẹ̄sen lẹ̄sen** *to lose* (weak pret. and pp. also **leste, lest**; **loste, lost**). For the consonant changes due to Verner's law see *EOE. Gr.* § 116.

§ **401.** **drẹ̄ȝen, dreien** (**drīen drȳen**, cp. § 107, 6) *to endure*, pret. sing. **drẹ̄ȝ** (**dreiȝ** § 107, 5), pl. **druȝen, drẹ̄ȝen** (**dreien**) with **ẹ̄** (**ei**) from the singular (cp. § **394**, 5), pp. **drǭȝen, drǫwen** (cp. § **113**, 2); **lẹ̄ȝen, leien** (**līȝen, līen lȳen**) *to tell lies*, pret. sing. **lẹ̄ȝ** (**leiȝ**), pl. **luȝen** (**lowen, ou** = **ū**, see § **122**, 5), **lǫwen** beside weak **lẹ̄ȝed(e, leiȝed(e līȝed(e, lȳed(e**, pp. **lǭȝen, lǫwen** beside weak **līȝed, līed**; **tẹ̄n** (OE. **tēon**) *to draw*, pret. **tẹ̄ȝ** (**teiȝ**), pl. **tuȝen** (**towen**, cp. § 122, 5), pp. **tǭȝen, tǫwen.** ME. **flẹ̄n** (OE. **flēon**) *to flee* and **flẹ̄ȝen** (OE. **flēogan**) *to fly* became mixed up in the present, as **flẹ̄n** (**flīen flȳen**), pret. sing. **flẹ̄ȝ** (**fleiȝ**), **flāȝ(e** (**flaw(e)**, pl. **fluȝen** (**flowen**), **flǭȝen** (**flǫwen**) beside weak **flẹ̄de, fledde** with early shortening (cp. § **100**), pp. **flǭȝen** (**flǫwen**), **flǫwn** (**flǫum**) beside weak **fledd**; pres. **flẹ̄ȝen** (*Ormulum* **flẹ̄ȝhenn**), **fleien, flīen flȳen, flẹ̄n**, pret. sing. **flẹ̄ȝ** (**fleiȝ**), **flāȝ(e** (**flaw(e)**, **flǫw(e** with **ǫw** from the plural and pp., pl. **fluȝen** (**flowen**, § 122, 5), **flǭȝen** (**flǫwen**) beside late weak pret. **flȳde**, pp. **flǭȝen** (**flǭwen**).

§ **402.**	OE.	**ū**	**ēa**	**u**	**o**
	ME.	**ū (ou)**	**ẹ̄**	**ǭ (u)**	**ǭ**

būȝen bouȝen (būen bouen bowen, § 122, 6) *to bow, bend.* pret. sing. bę̄ȝ (beiȝ), pl. buȝen (buwen, bouen bowen (§ 122, 5), beside weak bouȝed(e, bouwed(e bowed(e, pp. bǭȝen, bǫwen (§ 113, 2) beside weak bowed; schūven (schouven, schove(n)) *to push, shove,* pret. sing. schę̄f, schǭf (§ 394, 5) beside weak schoved(e, schufte, pp. schǭven (schuven) beside weak schowved, schuft; sūken (souken) *to suck,* pret. sing. sę̄k, sǭk (§ 394, 5) beside weak souked(e, pl. suken, sǭken, pp. sǭken (sŭkėn) beside weak souked; and similarly sūpen (soupen) *to sup*; unlūken (unlouken) *to unlock.*

Class III.

§ 403.

OE.	i	a (o)	u	u
ME.	i	a (o), § 42	u (o=u)	u (o=u), § 9
	drinken	drank (dronk)	drunken	drunken
	spinnen	span (spon)	spunnen	spunnen

And similarly with other verbs containing a nasal + consonant other than d or b, as schrinken, sinken, stinken, swinken *to labour, toil*; clingen, dingen (ON. dengja) *to beat, strike,* flingen (ON. flengja), ringen, singen, slingen (ON. slöngva), springen, stingen, swingen, þringen *to throng, press*; bilimpen *to happen,* swimmen; biginnen (N. pret. also bigouþe, see note); blinnen *to cease,* rinnen (ON. rinna) *to run,* winnen. To this subdivision properly belong also irnen, ernen, urnen (WS. iernan, Angl. eornan *to run,* see *EOE. Gr.* § 340 note), pret. sing. arn(e, orn(e (OE. arn, orn), pl. and pp. urnen, ornen beside weak pret. ernde, also arnde (pp. y-arned, arnd) from the OE. weak causative verb ærnan; and rennen (ON. renna) *to run,* pret. sing. ran (ron), pret. pl. and pp. runnen (ronnen) beside weak pret. rende, renned(e, pp. renned.

Some of the above verbs had weak beside the strong forms, especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as

sinked, stinked, swinked; dinged, swinged; swimde (pp. swimmed).

NOTE.—1. The pret. **bigan (bigon)** was often used as a kind of auxiliary verb with loss of the prefix and unvoicing of the **g-** to **k-**, whence the common forms **con** in the west Midland and **can** in the northern dialects. And then in Scottish the new **can** became mixed up with old **can** (§ 435) and gave rise to the analogical pret. **kouþ(e)** beside **bigan, bigouþ(e)**, see *N.E.D.* s.v.

2. The ME. for *to burn* comprises forms from four different types of stem:—(1) **bern-**, the OE. strong intransitive verb WS. **biernan**, Angl. **beornan**; (2) **brinn-**, the strong intransitive verb OE. ***brinnan** (ON. **brinna**); (3) **barn-**, the OE. weak causative verb **bærnan**; (4) **brenn-**, the ON. strong verb **brenna**. The old strong forms of the preterite and pp. do not appear later than Laȝamon (*c.* 1205), and the distinction between transitive and intransitive was soon lost, the four types being used indiscriminatively in meaning though their usage varied in different dialects, the **brinn-, brenn-** types belonging chiefly to the areas more strongly influenced by Scandinavian. In late ME. and onwards into the sixteenth century the most common type was **brenn-**. Examples are:—(1) **beornen, birnen, bernen**, pret. sing. **born**, pl. **burnen** beside weak **bernde**; (2) **brinnen**, pret. **brinde, brint(e, brynned(e**, pp. **brind, brint**; (3) **barnen**, pret. **barnde**; (4) **brennen**, pret. **brenn(e)de, brende, brent**, pp. **brend, brent.**

§ 404.

ī (i, § 73)	a (o)	ū (u, § 73)	ū (u)
bĭnden	band (bond)	bounden (bunden)	bounden (bunden)

And similarly fĭnden, grĭnden, wĭnden; clīmben (§ 72), pret. sing. clǭmb, clāmb (§ 72), pl. cloumben, clumben, clāmben (§ 394, 5) beside weak clīmed(e, pp. cloumben, clumben (clomben, o = u). For bound(e, found(e beside band (bond), fand (fond), see § 394, 5.

§ 405.

e	a	o (u)	o
helpen	halp	holpen (hulpen)	holpen

The verbs of this type regularly had **u** in the preterite

plural in early ME., but later they generally had o from the past participle as in Chaucer. Nearly all of them had begun to have weak beside the strong forms as early as the fourteenth century, and some of them had become entirely weak before the end of the ME. period. And similarly berken, delven, kerven *to carve*, melten, smerten, sterven, swellen, swelten *to die*, werpen *to throw* (cp. § 38), ȝellen, ȝelpen *to boast*; bersten (bresten) *to burst* (cp. § 130), þreschen. Cp. § 129.

§ 406. berȝen, berwen (§ 298) *to protect, preserve*, pret. sing. barȝ, pl. bur(e)ȝen, borȝen (borwen), pp. borȝen (borwen); swelȝen (swelewen, -owen, -awen, swoleȝen, swolewen, -owen) *to swallow*, pret. sing. swal(u)ȝ, swalewe beside weak swel(o)wed(e), swolewed(e), swolȝed, pp. swolȝen (swolwen, swelȝen) beside weak swelewed, -owed, see *EOE. Gr.* § 102; wurþen, worþen (OE. weorþan, § 38) *to become*, pret. sing. warþ (wurþ, worþ), pl. wurþen, worþen (OE. wurdon), pp. worþen, wurþen (OE. worden), see *EOE. Gr.* § 116; ȝę̄lden (southern ȝīlden) *to recompense*, pret. sing. ȝǭld (N. ȝāld, S. ȝę̄ld § 71), pl. ȝūlden (ȝǭlden), pp. ȝǭlden (cp. § 71) beside weak ȝę̄lded(e, pp. ȝę̄lded; fiȝten (feȝten, feiȝten) *to fight*, pret. sing. fauȝt, faȝt (§ 110, 5), feiȝt (§ 107, 4), pl. fuȝten (fǫuȝten), pp. fŏȝten, fǫuȝten (§ 113, 4); breiden (OE. bregdan, § 107, 1) *to brandish*, pret. sing. braid breid (OE. brægd, § 106) beside weak breide braide, pl. brudden (OE. brūdon), pp. broȝden (OE. brogden), broiden beside weak braided, breided, broided; freinen (OE. fregnan, frignan) *to ask, inquire*, pret. sing. frain frein beside weak frained(e), freined(e).

Class IV.

§ 407.

OE. e	æ	ǣ (ē) § 52	o	
ME. ę̄	a	ę̄ (ę̄)	ǭ	
bę̄ren *to bear*	bar	bę̄ren (bę̄ren)	bǭren	bǭrn

And similarly hę̄len *to conceal*, quę̄len *to die*, schę̄ren *to shear*, stę̄len *to steal*, tę̄ren *to tear*. cumen (comen) *to come*, pret. sing. cǭm (cam, § 55), pl. cǭmen (cāmen), pp. cumen (comen); nimen *to take*, pret. sing. nǭm (nam, § 55), pl. nǭmen (nāmen), pp. numen (nomen), see § 42 note.

Class V.

§ 408.

OE.	e	æ	ǣ (ē) § 52	e
ME.	ę̄	a	ę̄ (ę̄)	ę̄
	knę̄den *to knead*	knad	knę̄den (knę̄den)	knę̄den

And similarly mę̄ten *to measure*, biquę̄þen, quę̄þen; pret. sing. quaþ, quad; quoþ, quod with d from the old pret. plural (Verner's law), and o with early rounding of a to o; quod was the prevailing form from about 1350 to 1550; wę̄ȝen (weien, § 107, 1) *to carry*, pret. sing. wai (wei); was (wes, § 43 note), pl. wę̄ren wę̄ren (wāren, wǭren, § 166). Some of these verbs had also weak beside the strong forms, as pret. and pp. kned(de, mett(e, wei(e)de (pp. y-wę̄ȝed, weied, § 107, 1).

§ 409. A number of verbs originally belonging to this class went over into class IV, as brę̄ken, brak, brǭken (brę̄ken, brāken), brǭken; and similarly drę̄pen *to kill*, spę̄ken, trę̄den (also weak tred(d)ed(e), wę̄ven *to weave*, wrę̄ken *to avenge*; also pp. knǭden, quǭþen.

§ 410. ę̄ten *to eat*, pret. sing. ę̄t, ę̆t (OE. ǣt, ē̆t) beside the new formation at, pl. ę̄ten, ę̄ten, pp. ę̄ten, late ME. also ę̆tten (ę̆ttyn); and similarly frę̄ten *to devour*, late ME. also weak pret. and pp. frę̄ted. ȝę̆ven, ȝiven beside given (Orm gifenn), N. gif *to give* (§ 176), pret. sing. ȝaf, ȝef, ȝafe, ȝave, ȝof, ȝove beside gaf, gaf(f)e, pl. ȝę̄ven, ȝę̄ven, ȝāven, ȝǭven (cp. § 166) beside gę̄ven (Orm gæfenn), pp. ȝę̆ven, ȝǭven, ȝiven (Orm ȝivenn) beside given (Orm also givenn), see

§§ 176, 292. gę̄ten, giten (ON. geta) *to get*, pret. sing. gă̄t(t, get (§ 29), pl. gę̄ten, gę̄ten (getten, gă̄t(t)e(n)), pp. gę̆ten (getten, git(t)en, gǫ̆t(t)en), see § 176. forȝę̆ten, forȝiten beside forgę̆ten *to forget*, pret. sing. forȝat beside forgat, pl. forȝę̄ten, forȝę̄ten beside forgę̆ten, pp. forȝę̆ten beside forgę̆ten. bidden (OE. biddan), also bedden (cp. §§ 92, 1, 399) in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries *to pray, beg, bid*, pret. sing. bad (badd, bed(d, badde) beside bę̄d (OE. bēad, see § 399), pl. bę̄den, bę̄dėn, pp. bę̄den beside early ME. bidden. sitten *to sit*, pret. sing. sat, also later satte, pl. sę̄ten, sę̄ten, also later sat(t)en, pp. sę̄ten, later ME. also setten, sitten, satt(e. liggen, līen, līn (§§ 122, 1, 296) *to lie down*, pret. sing. lai (Orm laȝȝ), cp. § 106, lei, pl. lę̄ȝen, lę̄ȝen, leiȝen, leien (laien), pp. leien (lein, lain), līen, līn. sę̄n (Ken. zī, zȳ) *to see*, pret. sing. saȝ, sauȝ saugh (§ 110, 5), saw (§ 110, 4), seȝ, seiȝ seigh, sey (Chaucer say), § 107, 4, siȝ, sī sȳ (§ 107, 6), pl. sawen (§ 110, 4), sāȝen, sauȝen, sǭȝen, sǫwen, sę̄ȝen (Orm sæȝhenn), seien, sīen sȳen (§ 107, 6), pp. sęwen (OE. sewen), sawen (OE. sawen, see *EOE. Gr.* § 350), sei(e)n sey(e)n (OE. Anglian gesegen), sę̄n (OE. adj. gesīene, gesēne *visible*).

Class VI.

§ 411.

OE.	a	ō	ō	æ (a)
ME.	ā	ǭ	ǭ	ā
	fāren *to travel*	fǭr	fǭren	fāren

And similarly āken *to ache*, bāken, forsāken, grāven *to dig* (pret. sing. grǭf), lāden *to load*, schāken, schāven, wāden, wāken (N. wak, wakke), tāken (ON. taka), N. tak beside N. and n. Midland tā(n, pret. also tǭ, pp. tān, see § 250. Several of the above verbs had weak beside the strong forms as early as the fourteenth century, as āked(e, forsāked(e, grāved(e, schāked(e, schāved(e, tāked(e.

§ 412. hę̄ven (OE. hebban, § 265) *to raise, heave,* pret. sing. hǭf, hǭve (cp. §§ 140, 267) beside the analogical forms haf, have, hę̄f, hę̄ve, weak hę̄ved(e, pl. hǭven, hę̄ven, pp. hǭven (after the analogy of class IV, § 407), hę̄ven, weak hę̄ved. scheppen, schippen (OE. scieppan) beside the new formation schāpen (from the pp.) *to create,* pret. sing. schǭp, also schę̄p after the analogy of class VII (§ 414) beside weak schapte, schipte, schupte, pl. schǭpen, pp. schāpen beside weak schāped. standen (stǫnden), pret. sing. stǭd, pl. stǭden, pp. standen (stǫnden). steppen, stāpen, stappen *to proceed,* pret. sing. stǭp, stę̄p after the analogy of class VII (§ 414) beside weak stapped(e, stapte, pl. stǭpen, pp. stāpen. swę̄ren (OE. swerian) *to swear,* pret. sing. swǭr beside the analogical forms swar, swę̄r, weak swę̄red, swāred, pl. swǭren, pp. swǭren, swǫ̆rn after the analogy of class IV (§ 407), weak y-swę̄red, y-swāred. waschen (Ken. weschen, wesse(n), § 289) *to wash,* pret. sing. wǫ̆sch (wę̆sch) beside weak wasched, wesched, pl. wǫ̆schen (wę̆schen), pp. waschen (weschen), beside weak wasched (wesched). waxen *to grow,* pret. sing. wox (cp. § 94), wax after the analogy of class IV (§ 407), wex (OE. wēox), pl. woxen, wexen, pp. waxen, woxen.

§ 413. draȝen, drāȝen, drawen (§ 103, 3), early ME. also dreiȝen, dreien *to draw,* pret. sing. drǭȝ, drǫuȝ, drǫw (§ 114, 2), drew, Sc. drewȝ drewch (§ 115), pl. drǭȝen, drǫwen, drewen, pp. drāȝen, drawen, also dreien, drain (drayn). And similarly gnaȝen, gnāȝen, gnawen *to gnaw.* flę̄n (OE. flēan) *to flay,* pret. sing. flǭȝ (OE. flōg, flōh), flǫuȝ, flǫw, also flew (§ 115), pl. flǭȝen, flǫuȝen, flǫwen, flewen, pp. flāȝen, flawen (OE. flagen), flain(e) (OE. flægen, § 106). slę̄n (OE. slēan), N. slān, slā (ON. slā, § 166), slǭn(e, beside the analogical forms slāȝe(n), slayn, pret. sing. slǭȝ, slǫuȝ, slǫw, slew (§ 115), pl. slǭȝen, slǫwen, slewen, pp. slāȝen, slawen (OE. slagen), slain, slein (OE. slægen, slegen, *EOE. Gr.* § 353), slān, slǫn from the present.

laȝen (Orm lahȝhenn), lāȝen, lauȝen, lauȝwen (Anglian hlæhhen, cp. § 110, 5), leȝen, lēȝen, leiȝen, liȝen (WS. hliehhan, cp. § 306) *to laugh*, pret. sing. lōȝ, lǫuȝ, lǫw, N. leuȝ(e, lugh(e, see §§ 114–15, beside weak lāȝed(e, lauȝed(e, leiȝed(e, N. lauȝt, luȝt, pl. lōȝen, lǫwen, pp. laȝen, lāȝen, lauȝen.

Class VII.

§ 414. To this class belong those verbs which originally had reduplicated preterites. In OE. they are divided into two subdivisions according as the preterite had ē or ēo. But as ēo regularly became ę̄ in ME. (§ 65) all the verbs of this class, which remained strong, have ę̄. The pret. sing. and pl. have the same stem-vowel. The verbs are here arranged according as in OE. the present had: ā, ǣ, ō, ea, āw, ōw, ē, ēa.

1. OE. ā: hǭten, N. hāten (OE. hātan) *to bid, order, call, name.* In OE. the passive was expressed by hātte *is* or *was called*, pl. hātton (*EOE. Gr.* § 316). In ME. the active hǭten, pret. hę̄t (OE. hēt), heȝt, hiȝt (OE. hĕht) came to mean both *to call* and *to be called*. From about 1200 the pret. heȝt, hiȝt often took final -e like the weak verbs. And both hę̄t and hiȝt passed over to the past participle. Further heȝt(e, hiȝt(e came to be used also for the present. From the strong preterite hę̄t a new ME. present hę̄ten with weak preterite hette was formed in the early fourteenth century. Thus the common ME. forms are: hǭten, hāten, hę̄ten, pret. sing. hę̄t, heȝt(e, hiȝt(e beside weak hette, pp. hǭten (hāten, hatten), hę̄t, hiȝt.

schǭden, schę̄den Orm shædenn (OE. scādan, scēadan) *to separate*, pret. schę̄d beside weak schadde, schedde (cp. § 91), pp. schǭden, schę̄den beside weak schad(d, sched(d, late ME. also schedded.

2. OE. æ (ē): lę̄ten (lę̄ten) *to let*, pret. lę̄t, lett, lat, pp. lę̄ten (lę̄ten), letten, latten. slę̄pen (slę̄pen) *to sleep*, pret. slę̄p beside weak slę̄ped(e (slę̄ped(e), slepped(e, slepte,

pp. slę̄pen (slę̄pen) beside weak slę̄ped (slę̄ped), slapt, slept (cp. § 91).

3. OE. ō: fǭn (OE. fōn) beside the new formation fangen (fongen) from the past participle *to seize*, pret. fĕng (OE. fēng), also the new formation fong, beside weak fanged(e (fonged(e), pp. fangen (fongen) beside weak fanged (fonged). hǭn (OE. hōn) beside the new formation hangen (hongen) from the past participle *to hang*, pret. hĕng (OE. hēng), hing (cp. § 99), pp. hangen (hongen).

4. OE. ea: fallen (OE. feallan) *to fall*, pret. fę̄l(l, fel(l, fil(l (§ 99), pp. fallen. walken (OE. wealcan) *to roll*, pret. wĕlk (OE. wēolc, cp. § 92, 2), pp. walken beside weak pret. and pp. walked.

fǭlden, N. fālden, S. fę̄lden (OE. fealdan, § 71) *to fold*, pret. fę̄ld beside weak fǭlded(e, &c., pp. fǭlden, &c. beside weak fǭlded. hǭlden, N. hālden, S. hę̄lden (OE. healdan, § 71) *to hold*, pret. hę̄ld, held (helt), hild (hilt), see § 99, pp. hǭlden, &c. wǭlden, N. wālden, S. wę̄lden (OE. wealdan, § 71) *to rule*, pret. wę̄ld(e, wĕlt(e beside the new formations wǭlde, wāld(e, wę̄ld(e, pp. wǭlden, &c., in later ME. also weak pret. and pp. wę̄lded.

5. OE. āw: blǫwen blǫuwen, N. blauwen, blau (OE. blāwan) *to blow*, pret. blęw (OE. blēow, § 112, 1), also weak blǫwed(e, pp. blǫwen, N. blawen, beside weak blǫwed. And similarly crǫwen, knǫwen, mǫwen, sǫwen, þrǫwen. swǭpen, swǭpen (§ 128) beside the new formation swę̄pen *to sweep*, pret. swę̄p beside the new formations swǭp(e, swǭp(e, weak swę̄ped(e, swepte, pp. swǭpen, swǭpen, weak swǭped, swǭped, swę̄ped.

6. OE. ōw, ōg: grǫwen (OE. grōwan, see § 114, 1) *to grow*, pret. gręw beside weak grǫwed(e, pp. grǫwen. And similarly blǫwen (weak pret. also blǫude) *to blossom*, flǫwen *to flow*, rǫwen *to row*. swǭȝen, swǫwen (OE. swōgan, § 114, 2 (*b*)) *to sound*, pret. swę̄ȝ, swei (§ 107, 6), pp. swǭȝen, swǫwen.

7. OE. ē: **wę̄pen** (OE. **wēpan**, Goth. **wōpjan**) *to weep*, pret. **wę̄p** beside weak **wepte** (§ 92, 1), pp. **wǭpen** (OE. **wōpen**) beside weak **wept**.

8. OE. ēa: **bę̄ten** (OE. **bēatan**) *to beat*, pret. **bę̄t** beside shortened form **bett**, and weak **bę̄ted(e**, **bette**, pp. **bę̄ten** beside weak **bett(e**. **hęwen** (OE. **hēawan**) *to hew*, pret. **hęw** (**hęu**) beside weak **hęwed(e**, pp. **hęwen** beside weak **hęwed**. **lę̄pen** (OE. **hlēapan**) *to leap*, pret. **lę̄p** (OE. **hlēop**), **lep(pe** beside weak **lę̄ped(e**, **lę̄pte**, pp. **lǭpen** after the analogy of class IV (§ 407, cp. also § 409).

B. WEAK VERBS

§ 415. The weak verbs, which for the most part are derivative and denominative, form by far the greater majority of all verbs. In OE. they are divided into three classes according to the endings of the infinitive, pret. indicative, and past participle. These endings are:—

Inf.	Pret.	P.P.
-an	**-ede**, **-de**, **-te**	**-ed**, **-d**, **-t**
-ian	**-ode**	**-od**
-an	**-de**	**-d**

Each of the classes I and II contained a large number of verbs, whereas class III only contained four verbs, viz. **habban** *to have*, **libban** *to live*, **secgan** *to say*, and **hycgan** *to think*, the last of which did not survive in ME.

The OE. normal endings of the present of these three classes were:—

I.	Sing.	**-e**,	**-est**,	**-eþ**,	pl.	**-aþ**,	inf.	**-an**
II.	„	**-ie**,	**-ast**,	**-aþ**,	„	**-iaþ**,	„	**-ian**
III.	„	**-e**,	**-ast**,	**-aþ**,	„	**-aþ**,	„	**-an**

WS. generally had syncopated forms in the second and third person singular of verbs belonging to class I, as **setst, set(t)** for older **setest, seteþ**, and these syncopated forms also remained in the ME. southern dialects. The OE. verbs of class I containing an r preceded by a short vowel had an ·i· in the present first pers. singular, the present plural, the present subjunctive singular and plural, the present participle, and the infinitive, as **werie, weriaþ; werie, werien; weriende, werian** *to defend*. In ME. the Midland and northern dialects generalized the forms without ·i·, whereas the Kentish and southern dialects retained the ·i·, as M. and N. **wẹ̄re**, S. **wĕrie**, &c., and similarly **an(d)·sweren, dẹ̄ren** *to injure*, **ẹ̄ren** *to plough*, **fẹ̄ren** *to carry*, **stiren** *to stir*.

After the ·a· had been weakened to ·e· (§ **134** (*b*)) the endings of class I and class III became alike; in class II the Midland and northern dialects generalized the endings without ·i·, so that in these dialects the present of all three classes fell together, whereas the endings ·ie, ·ieþ, ·ien remained in the Kentish and southern dialects. For the personal endings of the present in the various ME. dialects see § **391**. The verbs of class I which had double consonants in the first person singular and the plural generally levelled out the double consonants (except **bb**, and **gg** = OE. **cg**) into the second and third person singular, as **sette, settest, setteþ** = OE. **sette, setst, set(t)**; **telle, tellest, telleþ** = OE. **telle, tel(e)st, tel(e)þ**. In the Midland and northern dialects the verbs containing ·bb·, ·cg· in OE. were remodelled in ME. from the second and third persons singular, as **bīen bȳen** *to buy*, **aswẹ̄ven** *to stupefy*, **leien** *to lay*, beside OE. **bycgan, āswebban, lecgan**; and similarly **haven, liven, seien saien** *to say*, beside OE. **habban, libban, secgan** of the third class.

§ **416**. The OE. normal endings of the preterite and past participle of the three classes were:—

I	Sing.	-ede, -edest, -ede,	pl. -edon,	pp. -ed : fremede	*I performed*
	,,	-de, -dest, -de,	,, -don,	,, -ed : dēmde	*I judged*
	,,	-te, -test, -te,	,, -ton,	,, -ed : drencte	*I submerged*
II	,,	-ode, -odest, -ode,	,, -odon,	,, -od : lōcode	*I looked*
III	,,	-de -dest, -de,	,, -don,	,, -d : hæfde	*I had*

The OE. verbs of class I generally had -ede in the preterite when the stem-syllable was originally short, but -de when the stem-syllable was originally long, and -te after voiceless consonants. Those verbs which had -te in OE. had it also in ME. In ME. we also often have -te after l, m, n, and in stems ending in -ld, -nd, -rd with shortening of a preceding long vowel, see § 270. Already in OE. the preterite of class III was the same as the preterite in -de of class I. And after the -o- had been weakened to -e- in class II the preterite of this class became the same as the preterite in -ede of class I. So that in early ME. the preterite sing. of all weak verbs ended either in -ede or -de (-te), and the plural in -eden or -den (-ten). The endings of the preterite indicative and the preterite subjunctive regularly fell together in ME. except that the indicative had -est in the second person singular.

§ 417. In ME. the final -e disappeared at an early period in those verbs which preserved the medial -e- of -ede, as loved (a new formation for lovęde), māked, þanked, beside hĕrde, bledde, kiste. The final -e of the singular and the final -en (§ 147) of the plural of all weak verbs disappeared at an early period in the northern dialects, and likewise the -est of the second pers. singular often disappeared, so that in these dialects all forms of the singular and plural came to be

alike. The final -e also ceased to be pronounced at an early period in the Midland and southern dialects, although it continued to be written long after it had ceased to be pronounced, but the ending -est (§ 150) of the second person singular generally remained. For the loss or retention of medial and final e in trisyllabic and polysyllabic forms see §§ 154–5.

Class I.

§ 418. Before beginning to treat the history of the preterite and past participle of the OE. first class of weak verbs in ME. it will be advisable to state here certain vowel and consonant changes which took place partly in OE. and partly in ME. :—

1. Long vowels were shortened before certain consonant combinations (§ 87), as blēden *to bleed*, bledde, ybled; clēþen *to clothe*, cledde, cladde, ycled, yclad; fēlen *to feel*, felte, yfelt; hēren *to hear*, hĕrde, yhĕrd; kēpen *to keep*, kepte, ykept; kīþen *to make known*, kidde, ykid; lēden *to lead*, ledde, ladde, yled, ylad; mēten *to meet*, mette, ymet.

2. d became t after voiceless consonants in OE., and when two dentals thus came together they became tt which were simplified to t when final (§ 239), as drencte : drencan *to submerge*, cyste : cyssan *to kiss*, grētte : grētan *to greet*, and similarly in ME.

3. Double consonants were simplified in OE. before and after other consonants, as cyste : cyssan, fylde : fyllan, gewielde : gewieldan *to overpower*, gyrde : gyrdan *to gird*, sende : sendan, reste : restan (*EOE. Gr.* § 145), and similarly in ME.

4. After liquids and nasals, and in stems ending in -ld, -nd, -rd we often or generally have t in the preterite and past participle, whereas OE. had d, see § 270; as bilte (OE. bylde), bilt *built*; dwelte, dwelt; felte, felt; girte, girt;

dremte (drempte, cp. § 251), dremt; blente, blent *blended*, sente, sent.

5. On preterites and past participles like dreinte, ydreint: drenchen; meinde, ymeind : mengen, and similarly blenchen *to flinch*, quenchen, sprengen, &c., see § 263.

§ 419. The OE. verbs with an original short stem-syllable had ·ede in the preterite and ·ed in the past participle, as werien *to defend*, weredę, gewered; fremman *to perform*, fremede, gefremed, and similarly derian *to injure*, erian *to plough*, ferian *to carry*, styrian *to stir*, dynnan *to resound*, &c., see *EOE. Gr.* §§ 367–8. If through analogical formation the stem-syllable became long in ME. the preterite and past participle regularly had ·ed, but if the stem-syllable remained short the preterite regularly had ·de and the past participle ·ed, as wę̄ren, wę̄red, ywę̄red; frę̄men, frę̄med, yfrę̄med, but stiren, stirde, ystired; dinen, dinde, ydined, but there were numerous analogical formations in both directions, see § 153. On the preterite and past participle of verbs like an(d)sweren, gaderen, see § 155.

§ 420. Verbs with an original long stem-syllable which in OE. had ·de in the preterite and ·ed in the past participle generally had these in ME. also, as dę̄len, dę̄lde, ydę̄led, dę̄men *to judge*, dę̄mde beside the new formation dę̄med(e), ydę̄med, see *EOE. Gr.* § 373. The ·e· in the past participle was very often syncopated, which in OE. only took place in the inflected forms, as ydę̄ld, yhĕrd : hēren *to hear*, and similarly deien dīen *to die*, hę̄len, lę̄ren *to teach*, stę̄ren *to steer*, see § 151.

§ 421. When the stem-syllable ended in ·d preceded by a long vowel the long vowel was shortened in the preterite and past participle (§ 91, 2), and when the ·e· in the past participle had disappeared the dd was simplified to d, as blę̄den, bledde, ybled; lę̄den, ledde, ladde, yled, ylad; and similarly chīden, fę̄den, hīden, spę̄den, &c.

§ 422. When the stem ended in v, l, m, n, or nd, ld, rd

the preterite and past participle generally had **t** in ME., as lēven *to leave*, lefte, yleft beside ylēved; and similarly clēven *to cleave*. fēlen, felte, yfelt; lēnen *to lend*, lente, ylent; senden, sente, ysent; and similarly benden, blenden, wenden. bīlden, bilte, ybilt; girden, girte, ygirt, see § 270.

§ 423. þ + d became dd which was simplified to d in the past participle, as clēþen *to clothe*, cledde, cladde, ycled, yclad; kīþen *to make known*, kidde, ykid.

§ 424. Verbs which had the preterite in -te in OE. also had it in ME., as kissen, kiste, ykissed beside ykist; kēpen, kepte, ykēped beside ykept; and similarly with the following verbs which were strong in OE., but became weak in ME.: crēpen *to creep*, lēpen *to leap*, slēpen, slēpen *to sleep*, wēpen *to weep*.

§ 425. When the stem ended in **t** the **tt** was simplified to **t** in the past participle, as mēten, mette, ymet, and similarly grēten, swēten *to sweat*. When the stem ended in **st, nt** the **tt** was simplified to **t** in the preterite and past participle, as resten, reste, yrest; and similarly casten, lasten, stinten, þirsten, &c.

§ 426. OE. had a certain number of verbs belonging to class I which had umlaut in the present but not in the preterite and past participle, see *EOE. Gr.* § 379. Many of these verbs preserved this characteristic in ME., as bȳen (biggen, beggen, büggen = OE. bycgan, § 49) *to buy*, bǫuȝte, ybǫuȝt. tellen, tǫlde (telde), ytǫld (yteld); and similarly sellen. ME. new formations were: dwelde, dwelte, ydwelled, ydwelt; and similarly quellen *to kill*. rēchen *to reach*, rauȝte, yrauȝt; and similarly lacchen *to catch, seize*, strecchen, and the AN. loan-word cacchen. tēchen, tauȝte, ytauȝt. sēken (sēchen), sǫuȝte, ysǫuȝt; and similarly bisēken (bisēchen). bringen, brǫuȝte, ybrǫuȝt. þenken, þinken (þenchen), þǫuȝte, yþǫuȝt. me þinkeþ *it seems to me*, me þuȝte, þouȝte. wirken, wirchen,

worchen, wurchen (early OE. wyrcan, see § 123), pret. wrǫuȝte (§ 113, 4), west Midland warȝte, wraȝte (OE. worhte), pp. ywrǫuȝt (OE. geworht), cp. § 244.

§ 427. The conjugation of the preterite of wē̆ren *to defend*, hē̆ren *to hear*, tellen *to count*, and kissen *to kiss* will serve as models of all verbs of class I:—

Indicative.

Sing.	1.	wē̆red(e)	hĕrde	tǭlde	kiste
	2.	wē̆redest	hĕrdest	tǭldest	kistest
	3.	wē̆red(e)	hĕrde	tǭlde	kiste
Plur.		wē̆red(en)	hĕrden	tǭlden	kisten

Subjunctive.

Sing.	wē̆red(e)	hĕrde	tǭlde	kiste
Plur.	wē̆red(en)	hĕrden	tǭlden	kisten

Class II.

§ 428. It has been shown in § 415 that the ME. inflexion of the verbs belonging to this class regularly fell together with that of verbs of the type wē̆ren (OE. werian) of class I, as present singular þanke, þankest, þankeþ, plural þanken, -es; preterite singular þanked(e), þankedest, þanked(e), plural þanked(en); and similarly asken (axen), clensen, clǭþen, enden, folwen, grǭþen, halwen *to hallow*, hāten, hǭpen, lernen, līken *to please*, lǭken, offren, schǫ̆wen (schǫwen, § 111 note) *to show*, sorwen *to sorrow, grieve*, spāren, spellen *to relate*, þǭlen *to bear, suffer*, wundren, &c., but loven, pret. lovę̆de beside loved(e), see § 153. Only a small number of verbs had syncopated beside unsyncopated forms in the preterite and past participle, as birē̆ven (OE. berēafian), birefte, bireft, beside birē̆ved(e), birē̆ved; clē̆pen

(OE. cliopian, cleopian) *to call,* clepte, yclept beside clēped(e), yclēped; māken, māde, ymād, ymaad (§ 250) beside māked(e), ymāked; pleien (OE. plegian) *to play,* pleide, ypleid beside pleied(e), ypleied.

Class III.

§ 429. ME. only preserved three of the four OE. verbs belonging to this class (§ 415), viz. haven (OE. habban), liven (OE. libban), sei(e)n sai(e)n (OE. secgan = ME. S. seggen, Ken. ziggen) *to say.* The presents of these verbs were new formations from the second and third persons singular which in OE. had a single consonant, as hafast (hæfst), hafaþ (hæfþ). In ME. the preterite and past participle lived(e) (OE. lifde), ylived (OE. gelifd) beside the preterite livede were new formations after the analogy of the second class of verbs, see § 153. The preterite saide beside the southern form sēde corresponded to OE. sægde beside sæde. The verb haven (habben) has a large number both of contracted and uncontracted forms, for which see *N. E. D.* s. v. The following are the more common forms of the present and preterite indicative, the infinitive and the past participle:—

	Present.	*Preterite.*
Sing. 1.	habbe, have, ha	hafde, havede, had(d)e (see § 43 note)
2.	havest, hast	had(d)est, had(e)st
3.	haveþ, haþ	hafde, havede, had(d)e
Plur.	habbeþ, -en, -es, haveþ, have(n), han	had(d)e(n)
Inf.	habbe(n), have(n)	pp. yhaved, yhadde, (y)had

AN. or O.Fr. Verbs in ME.

§ 430. All the AN. verbs were weak in ME. except **strīven** (O.Fr. **estriver**), which became strong. The ME. verbs were generally based on the AN. strong or accented stem-form of the present, as **accūsen, awaiten, blāmen, carien, claimen, escāpen, marien, stüdien,** &c.

§ 431. The verbs in **-ir** generally had the extended stem-form **-isch-** (§ 278), as **banischen, finischen, punischen, vanischen,** &c., but **obeyen, sēsen** *to seize*, and **rejǫisen** did not have the extended stem-form. Some ME. verbs were based on the weak or end accented form of the present, as **deceiven, preien, preisen** *to praise*, **serven, deneien** beside **denȳen, coveren** beside **keveren, mǭven** beside **mē̤ven, prǭven** beside **prē̤ven**, see § 198.

§ 432. The preterite was formed in **-ed**, pl. **ed(en)**, and the past participle in **-ed** (see §§ 153, 155), except when the stem ended in a long vowel or diphthong, as **blāmen, blāmed; defenden, defended; assenten, assented; finischen, finisched; marien, maried; prē̤chen** *to preach*, **prē̤ched,** &c. When the stem ended in a long vowel the preterite, but not the past participle, had a syncopated beside an unsyncopated form, as **crȳen, crȳde** beside **crȳed**, pp. **crȳed**; and similarly **defȳen, espȳen,** &c. When the stem ended in a diphthong both the preterite and past participle had syncopated and unsyncopated forms side by side, as **preien** *to pray*, **preide, preid** beside **preied, preied**; and similarly **anoien, bitraien, paien,** &c.

C. MINOR GROUPS

1. Preterite-Presents.

§ 433. These verbs were originally unreduplicated strong perfects which acquired a present meaning like Gr. *οἶδα* = OE. **wāt** *I know*. In prim. Germanic a new weak preterite,

an infinitive, a present participle, and in some verbs a strong past participle, were formed. They are inflected in the present like the preterite of strong verbs, except that the second person singular has the same stem-vowel as the first and third persons, and has preserved the old ending **·t** (*EOE. Gr.* § 324). The following verbs of this type were preserved in ME. and are here arranged according to the class of strong verbs with which they are related:—

§ 434. Class I: N. **wāt** *I know*, **wās(t)**, **wāt** (cp. § 100), M. and S. **wǭt**, **wǭst**, **wǭt**, pl. **wite(n** (**wǭt**, **wǭt**), **wute(n**, cp. § 39; inf. **wite(n**, **wute(n**; pres. part. **witand(e)**, **witend(e)**, **witind(e)**, **witing(e)**; pret. **wiste**, **wuste**; pp. **wist**. For forms like **nǭt**, **nāt**, pret. **niste**, see § 245.

§ 435. Class III: **an**, **on** *I grant*, also the new formations **unne**, **unnest**, **unne** from the plural, pl. **unnen**; pret. **ūþe** (**ouþe**); pp. **unned**.

N. **can**, **canst**, **can**, pl. **can**, M. and S. **can** (**con**), **canst** (**const**, **cunne**), **can** (**con**), pl. **cunnen** (**connen**); inf. **cunnen** (**connen**); subj. **cunne** (**conne**); participial adj. N. **cunnand** *cunning*; pret. **couþe**, **coude** (§ 274); pp. **couþ**.

dar *I dare*, **darst**, **dar**, pl. **durren** (**dorren**); inf. **durren**; pret. **dorste** beside the new formation **durste** with **u** from the inf. and pres. pl.; pp. **durst**. **þarf** (**þar**, § 248) *I need*, **þarft** (**þurve**), **þarf** (**þar**), pl. **þurven**; pret. **þorfte** (OE. **þorfte**) beside **þurfte** formed from the inf. and pres. plural, **þorte** (**þurte**).

§ 436. Class IV: M. and N. sing. and pl. **mun**, **mon** *shall, will*, pret. **munde**, **monde**; ON. inf. **muna** *to remember*.

N. sing. and pl. **sal** (§ 289 note) *shall*, M. and S. **schal** (Ken. **ssel**), **schalt**, **schal**, pl. **schulen** beside the new formation **scholen** with **o** from the preterite, whence were formed the new singular **schul**, **schol**; subj. **schule**, pret. N **suld**, M. and S. **schǒlde** beside **schǭlde** (§ 71), and **schulde** formed from the pres. plural.

§ 437. Class V: **mai** **may** (Orm **maȝȝ**, OE. **mæg**, § 106)

beside mei mey (OE. meg, § 107, 1) *I, he can,* miȝt (late OE. miht) beside maȝt, mauȝt, Orm mahht (early OE. meaht, § 110, 5), meiȝt (§ 107), later ME. maist(e *thou canst*, pl. maȝen, māȝen, mawen (§ 110, 3), also N. mai (may), muȝen (Orm muȝhenn), muwen, mowẹn, mown (moun), mow (mou, mū), see § 122, 5 ; subj. maȝe (mawe), muȝe (Orm muȝhe), muwe (mowe); pres. part. maȝende (Ken. meȝende), mowende, mouwinge, mowing; inf. muȝen (Orm muȝhen), mowen, mown (ṁoun), mow (mou) ; pret. miȝte (Orm mihhte), moȝt(e, muȝt(e, mouȝte.

§ 438. Class VI : mọ̄t *may, must,* mọ̄st, mọ̄t beside later ME. unaccented mut(t, must, mut(t, pl. mọ̄ten ; pret. mọ̄ste beside the early ME. shortened and unaccented forms moste, muste, pl. mọ̄sten beside mosten, musten.

§ 439. Class VII: N. sing and pl. āȝ āgh *possess, own,* early M. āȝ, auȝ, awe, M. and S. ǭȝ (ǫuȝ), ǫwe (ǫwest), ǭȝ (ǫuȝ), pl. ǭȝen, ǫwen (§ 113, 3) ; inf. N. āȝe(n), early M. āȝen (Orm āȝhenn), M. and S. ǭȝen, ǫwen; pret. N. ăȝt(e) ăght(e), early M. ăȝte, auȝte, M. and S. ǫuȝte ; pp. āȝen, ǫwen.

2. Anomalous Verbs.

§ 440. *a.* The Substantive Verb.

Present.

	N.	M. and S.
Sing. 1.	am (es)	am (em)
2.	art (ert, es)	art (ert)
3.	es	is
Plur.	ar(e), er(e), es	are(n), arn
Sing. 1.	(bẹ)	bẹ̄
2.	bẹ̄s	bist (bẹ̄st)
3.	bẹ̄s	biþ (bẹ̄þ)
Plur.	bẹ̄s	bẹ̄n, bẹ̄þ
Subj.	bẹ̄, pl. bẹ̄s	bẹ̄, pl. bẹ̄n, bẹ̄þ

Preterite.

		M.	S.
Sing.	1. was (wes), § 43 note	was (wes)	was (wes)
	2. was (wes)	wę̄re (wǭre), § 166	wę̄re
	3. was (wes)	was (wes)	was (wes)
Plur.	war(e), wes	wę̄ren (wǭren), § 166	wę̄ren
P.P.	bę̄n	bę̄n	bę̄n, ybę̄

Note.—The **es** of the present second and third persons sing. in the northern dialects is of ON. origin (ON. **es** *art, is*). **es** was then extended to the first pers. sing. and to the plural; of the same origin is the pl. form **er**(e) = ON. **ero** *they are*, and **ern** with the OE. ending **-n** (OE. **earon, aron**). The OE. pl. forms **sind** (**sint**), **sindon** *they are* lingered on in ME. until the thirteenth century, and then became obsolete, as **sind** (**sint**), **sinden** (Orm **sinndenn**). The ę̄ in the M. and S. sing. forms bę̄st (OE. **bist**), bę̄þ (OE. **biþ**) was due to levelling out the ę̄ from the other forms where it was regular.

§ 441. *b.* The Verb dǭn *to do.*

Present.

		N.	M.	S.
Sing.	1.	dǭ	dǭ	dǭ
	2.	dǭs	dǭst	dę̄st (dǭst)
	3.	dǭs	dǭþ	dę̄þ (doþ)
Pl.		dǭs	dǭn	dǭþ
Imper.		dǭ, pl. dǭs	dǭ, pl. dǭþ	dǭ, pl. dǭþ

On the forms of the second and third pers. singular, see § 394, 2.

Pres. Part.: early ME. dǭnde, later N. dǭand(e, M. dǭende, S. dǭinde, dǭing(e, cp. § 391.

Preterite: dide, dede, düde (OE. **dyde**, see § 49) inflected like a weak preterite. P.P. dǭn, ydǭn, S. ydǭ.

§ 442. *c.* The Verb gān (gǭn) *to go.*

Present.

	N.	M.	S.
Sing. 1.	gā	gǭ	gǭ
2.	gās	gǭst	gę̄st (gǭst)
3.	gās	gǭþ	gę̄þ (gǭþ)
Plur.	gās	gǭn	gǭþ
Imper.	gā, pl. gās	gǭ, pl. gǭþ	gǭ, gǭþ

On the forms of the second and third pers. sing., see § 394, 2.

Preterite: ȝę̄de (ȝǭde, § 65 note), and **wente**. P.P. gān, gǭn, ygǭn.

§ 443. *d.* The Verb **willen** *will.*

Present first and third pers. sing. **wille, wil(e** (OE. **wille**, third pers. **wile, wille**), **welle, wel(e, wel(l** (OE. Anglian **welle**) beside the new formations **wole, wolle, wule, wulle** from the preterites with **o, u**, and similarly second pers. sing. **wilt** (OE. **wilt**) beside **wolt, wult**, pl. **willen, wilen, wiln, -eþ, welen, wel(e, well(e** beside **wol(l)en, wul(l)en, -eþ**; inf. **willen, wilen** (Orm **wilenn**); pret. **wŏlde** (**wollde, wold**), **wǭlde** (§§ 71, 101) beside **wulde** formed after the analogy of **schulde** (§ 436), **wilde** formed direct from the present, northern and west Midland **walde** (OE. Anglian **walde**); pp. **wŏld(e.**

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P. G. au > O. Icel au > ou, au hlouper
O. E. âa > e hlêper

P. G. ai > O. Icel. ei > DE ei, ai . bleik blanc
O. E. â > DE o a gobâk .

P. G. eu > O. Icel. jo yau > DE ê'
O. F. êo > DE e

ĩn .

O. F. ue > A. N. o. > e
O. F. ui > A. N. u.